

THE LIVERPOOL CHINA TRADE
1834 - 1880

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ABSTRACT

The nucleus of this thesis is the Liverpool China Trade Collection. This exists in Liverpool in store and has never been exhibited as a whole. Much of this collection is provenanced to local families with strong shipping connections. The examination of this collection is preceded by an analysis of the data on shipping and trade with the aim of showing the importance of the port of Liverpool in the latter part of the nineteenth century after the release of the East India Company franchise and the opening of the Suez Canal. The latter event had a dramatic effect on Liverpool because it coincided with new developments in the compound steam engine, the potential of which was exploited to the full by Alfred Holt, a Liverpool shipowner.

The study falls into two main parts. First, the historical background is sketched, revealing, amongst other factors, the influence of American traders, who in the nineteenth century anticipated developments in shipping, for example in clipper-ship design, as well as providing a model market for trade goods from China the demands of which were reflected by the tastes and demands of the prosperous Liverpool merchants. The shipping data are amplified by reference to the family correspondence of Robert Thomson, who was first a clipper captain and later captain of one of the Holt steamers, and also by the diary of Alexander Kidd, whose service with Alfred Holt's company lasted over most of the period under survey only being terminated by his untimely death at sea.

Second, the thesis examines in detail the collection itself, which is unique in this country because it is unusually well provenanced to Liverpool families, enabling us to trace the sort of private trading which was going on at the behest of individuals as well as on behalf of the companies who were importing tea as their main commodity. This part of the thesis contains a report on the oriental collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, discussing the collections in relation to a neglected phase of China Trade art and in the light of locally sourced documentation. An account, and possible explanation, is offered of the ways in which the nature of the China Trade changed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The thesis examines the collection itself, illustrates the nature of the objects which were being collected, often by or on behalf of the great mercantile families of Liverpool, and casts light not only upon the nationwide taste for Chinese products together with shifts in patronage and consumerism which developed at this time but also upon the effect trade contacts, the establishment of new colonial communities on the Chinese mainland and the emergence of an identifiable treaty port culture had upon developments in Chinese export art.

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PART ONE: LIVERPOOL AND THE CHINA TRADE

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

That the production and acquisition of art should, in part at least, obey the so-called laws of supply and demand is not surprising, for the artist like everybody else is affected by the socio-economic conditions of his place and time. When we come to look at export art and in particular those artefacts which were the result of East-West trade, we see this process at work. The eighteenth century saw the establishment and expansion of British trade and influence in South-east Asia and the Far East, due largely to the activities of the East India Company. During that century the works of art which were imported into this country from the East show clear characteristics and are readily classifiable into certain categories.¹

The connection between China and India at that time may be accounted for by the triangular trade between Britain and those two countries. In the minds of the general public the two may have been somewhat confused and certainly the distinctive features of Chinese and Indian art were not fully appreciated. Both were seen as naive and to some degree uncivilized, a view which was to continue into the nineteenth century, as, for example, the comments of Ruskin on the use of colour by the Chinese and Indians bear out.² However, at the end of the eighteenth century less fanciful and more pragmatic accounts of China became available to the public. With the nineteenth century we see a transition from a relatively stable demand for a limited range of goods of Chinese manufacture to an expanded market for a wider variety of artefacts. That century was a period of innovation, particularly in shipping and transport, and as a result the buying power shifted from a landed upper class remote from its sources of supply to an urban middle class with a prosperity derived often from direct interest in the mechanisms of the China Trade. It is that period which this thesis

¹ These categories have been dealt with by Crossman in his work on the decorative arts of the China Trade. Crossman, C. L. *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade* (Woodbridge UK, 1991). pp. 19-20

² Ruskin, J. *Modern Painters* v.3 (first published London, 1856) popular edition (London, 1906). p.94

proposes to explore, with particular reference to the port of Liverpool.

My first hypothesis therefore is that Liverpool's participation in, and contribution to the development of, the nineteenth-century China Trade was of greater significance than is generally recognised. The thesis proposes to show the combination of factors which brought this about.

My second hypothesis draws upon the Oriental Collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside to suggest that in nineteenth-century Liverpool it was the conditions under which the import / export trade was carried on that controlled the nature of the Chinese artefacts available. In order to demonstrate this, it will be necessary to examine the collections in detail. My contention is that this apparently random choice of artefacts reflects trading conditions and the social network underlying them.

The starting point of this research was the Liverpool China Trade Collection. This exists in Liverpool in store and has never been exhibited as a whole. The examination of this collection will be preceded by an analysis of the data on shipping and trade, drawing upon the archival materials existing in the Liverpool Maritime Museum and elsewhere. This is aimed at showing the importance of the port of Liverpool in the latter part of the nineteenth century after the release of the franchise in 1834 and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, an event which had a dramatic effect on Liverpool because it coincided with the development of the compound steam engine, the potential of which was exploited to the full by Alfred Holt, a Liverpool shipowner.³

The shipping data are amplified by surviving documentation including the family correspondence of Captain Robert Thomson, who was first a clipper captain engaged in the tea trade with China and later captain of one of the Holt steamers, and also by the diary of Captain Alexander Kidd, whose service with Alfred Holt's company lasted over most of the period under survey only being terminated by his untimely death at sea.

Finally the thesis will examine in detail the collection itself which is unique because it is unusually well provenanced to Liverpool families and enables

³ Holt had been trained as a railway engineer and was already familiar with the use of the compound steam engine for overland locomotion. See p.38 of this thesis.

us to trace the sort of private trading which was going on at the behest of individuals as well as on behalf of the companies which were importing tea as their main commodity. The collection itself illustrates the nature of the objects which were being collected, often on behalf of the great mercantile families of Liverpool, and casts light not only upon the nationwide taste for Chinese products together with shifts in patronage and consumerism which developed at this time but also upon the effect trade contacts, the establishment of new colonial communities on the Chinese mainland and the emergence of an identifiable treaty port culture had upon the development of Chinese export art.

Trade with the Far East

Liverpool's role as a major port in the China Trade has been largely overlooked. Yet the evidence points to its being a key port involved in the trade, especially in competition with America,⁴ during the period under consideration, 1834 to 1880. After the year 1834, Liverpool began its rapid ascent as a major port engaged in trade with China.⁵ This can be seen as part of the decentralization of the trade in and out of London, which had been the pivotal port before and continued to be important during this period. The events which led up to this date are worth examining, as are those which followed.

Events leading up to 1834 closely involve the history and development of the British East India Company. It is under the East India Company that we first see trade with China and other parts of Asia becoming established as a major business. In contrast to the situation in America, the East India Company held the monopoly of trade from Britain to China and India. In America the trade had generally been in the hands of entrepreneurs. Indeed it was the attempt of the East India Company to ^{revise} extend its monopoly in the tea trade to the American market that was a ^{contributory} ~~major~~ cause of the Boston Tea Party.⁶

⁴ Dulles, F.R. *The Old China Trade* (Boston Mass., 1930), pp. 48-9, points out that in the 1790s the American China trade was flourishing and British competition offered no effective threat to it. The end of the Company's monopoly changed this state of affairs.

⁵ Evidence exists of the city's association with the East India Company from the end of the eighteenth century through ship-building. Wardle, A.C. 'The East India Company: some local associations' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire & Cheshire* v. 99 (Liverpool, 1949). pp. 63-79

⁶ Marrin, A. *The War for Independence* (New York, 1988) pp. 34-36

The China Trade was many-faceted. Though it was based upon the importation of tea and silk, another element to it and one equally worthy of our consideration is the private trading that went on during the existence of and, as it were, under the umbrella of the Company's monopoly. In a very real sense the Company created conditions under which this private trade was able to flourish.⁷

Private dealing by ships' officers on behalf of other parties, on a commission basis or otherwise, appears to have been the rule. Though many trade products were ephemeral in nature, material evidence still exists of those objects which were brought over as gifts or retained as souvenirs, and which for this reason, and their intrinsic nature, have survived. For this quantity of objects to have been preserved it is apparent that they were prized, no doubt because of their personal and subjective associations. It will be relevant to examine the character of collecting itself.

The desire to frustrate Dutch encroachment on their share of the Spice Trade drove a group of London merchants in the late sixteenth century to seek royal sanction for trade to the East Indies. In 1600 an edict was passed by Queen Elizabeth which gave the merchants the exclusive privilege of trading in those parts for the next fifteen years, provided that the trade proved beneficial to the crown. Most importantly the charter that Elizabeth had passed allowed bullion to leave the country. This tended to be silver specie, in the seventeenth century taking the form of pieces of eight and in the eighteenth century Spanish dollars. Throughout the life of the Company we observe its consistent failure to find a market for British goods in the East and as a result the export of specie was a continuing feature of the period of the Company's monopoly.

Four reasons are usually given for the foundation of the Company: the profits expected from the Spice Trade; the growing awareness by the English of their power at sea following the Armada period; a change in Anglo-Portuguese relations following the dynastic union of Portugal and Spain;

⁷ The Company had to come to terms with the fact that the major motivation behind operating under the auspices of the Company was the profits that could be made from private trading. Indeed they realised that they had to tolerate private trading at an acceptable level, and not attempt to prohibit it. It is interesting that records of the Macartney embassy recall how it was banned for the trip and how great the outcry was. Singer, A. *The Lion and the Dragon* (London, 1992). pp.114-116

and the inspiring example of Dutch success in their voyages to the East.⁸ Dutch relations with Britain worsened in 1618 as a result of British encroachment in the East Indies. In the war which followed, an accord was established, but this broke down in 1622 and the ensuing hostilities proved disastrous for British interests in the region. Ousted from the Spice Trade, the British turned their full attention to India. Cromwell, who had seen the Company as an important factor in maritime trade competition with the Dutch, established a joint stock company in 1657 and conferred more privileges and a virtual monopoly on the Company.

From the start the Company had two types of investor, the shareholder who was only interested in a quick return on his capital and the merchant who saw the possibility of collateral advantage from participation in the business of trade with the East.⁹ Charles II conferred further powers on the Company, granting them Bombay, which had come to him as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry. The extra powers gave the Company tremendous autonomy. They could send warships out to defend their interests; hold their own courts; recruit soldiers for the Company's private army; build forts; mint their own money and make war on their own account.

For the Company to function at all it had to depend on reliable sea-going vessels to maintain the supply of trade goods and equipment. The kind of vessel developed for this purpose was modelled upon those used by the Dutch, though the English ships tended to be somewhat smaller overall. These ships came to be referred to as East Indiamen. The crew of an East India Company vessel in the seventeenth century was supported by an allowance, which they were free to supplement by private trading on arrival in the East.¹⁰

But yf vpon lycence demaunded of you the said
Generall & you our said principall marchaunts any
master, marriner or others shall be desirous to lade
some small pporcion or quantitie of China dishes or
light triffls not exceeding the value of Three pounds,
or not beareing aboue the bulcke of a small chest Then
we doe order that all such goods soe laden by your

⁸ Keay, J. *The Honourable Company: a history of the English East India Company* (London, 1991) p.25

⁹ Ibid. p.25

¹⁰ Ibid. p.35

privitie & lycence shall be entred into the Pursars Booke
of such shipp.¹¹

It is possible that the Company ships and those vessels which followed them carried supplies in excess of their own requirements in order to sell them in port to the Europeans there. In another reference a contemporary describes a commander as "a vendor of cheese, ham, porter and other filthy articles for a lucre of gain."¹² This makes an interesting comparison with Robert Thomson's boast that his cheeses and hams were famous in the China ports for their quality.¹³ We may conclude from Thomson's testimony that the later clipper captains engaged in similar dealings to those of their predecessors under the East India Company.

The carriage of passengers had been a profitable subsidiary of the Company ships. But, bearing in mind the limited capacity of the clipper ships, it is less likely that this formed such a major source of income in their day, though we have evidence from Thomson that from time to time deck passengers in substantial numbers were carried on short passages between ports.

The Company was both unable and unwilling to stop private trading and by about 1635 it had become resigned to the practice and had simply set a ceiling not to be exceeded. Private trading, it would seem, in the early years of the trade provided the ship merchants with a useful supplement to their income. Without it, as a quotation from the Company records shows, "none but desperate men would sail our ships".¹⁴ When we examine the later trade after the demise of the Company we see that private trading continued to be regarded as an accepted part of the operation.

Canton

Since 1703 British trade with China had been channelled through the port of Canton. Officially, the European presence in Canton was a seasonal one, and for this reason lack of continuity of residence in the port made it impossible

¹¹ Birdwood, G. & Foster, W. *The Register of Letters &c. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies 1600-1619* first published 1893 (London, 1965) p.58

¹² Sutton, J. *Lords of the East: The East India Company and its Ships* Conway Maritime Press Ltd (London, 1981) p.73

¹³ The letters of Robert Thomson are discussed in the next chapter. *Letters of Robert Thomson* unaccessioned, archives Merseyside Maritime Museum (Read Thomson bequest 1950).

¹⁴ Sutton 1981 p.87

for Europeans fully to explore the commercial character of the Chinese market. This fact, as the European demand for Chinese products escalated, meant that power was concentrated in Chinese hands. Although there is evidence that some of the regulations applying to the foreign community were regularly disregarded, the fact remains that the rest of China was closed to European enterprise.¹⁵

Demand for tea in Europe increased during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1660 we have a reference from Pepys to the advent of tea into Britain not only as a medicine but also as a social drink.¹⁶ The demands of the Court for the fashionable tea also had their impact on the country in general. During the late seventeenth century much of the tea which reached the country came through unofficial channels, in other words through the smuggling trade.¹⁷ Because of this, the price tended to be high. It was with the discovery of "Bohea" tea¹⁸ that we see prices falling to around seven shillings a pound. The porcelains from which to drink the tea accompanied the cargo, and these ceramic wares played an important role in tea-drinking as a social activity.¹⁹

British products, such as woollen textiles, found no extensive market in China. It was hoped by some Europeans that contact could be opened up with the colder northern provinces. Meanwhile silver specie continued to be fed into the Chinese economy in payment for tea, thus depleting British reserves and boosting the Chinese stock of bullion.

Before the opening up of the Treaty Ports, Canton was the only port officially trading with the Europeans. No other port had been made available for trading with foreigners. To deal with the increased trade from Canton the Chinese government set up a body of thirteen; this Co-hong or government-approved cartel of Canton merchants presided over and

¹⁵ Hunter, W.C. *The "Fan Kwae" at Canton : before the treaty days 1825-1844* first published London 1882 (Taipei, 1965) p.28

¹⁶ Lord Braybrooke (ed.) *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esq., FRS, from 1659 to 1669* (London, 1887) p.53

¹⁷ Greenberg, M. *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42* (Cambridge, 1951) p.3 footnote 2.

¹⁸ The word 'Bohea' is believed to be a corruption of Wu-i, a region of Fukien which produced a form of black tea exported to Britain; later the term was applied to black tea produced elsewhere. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary in 2 vols.*, revised and edited by Onions, C.T. (Oxford, 1950).

¹⁹ Forrest, D. *Tea for the British : a social and economic history of a famous trade* (London, 1973) p.288

retained the monopoly of trade with the Europeans. A bank of Factories or Hong buildings was built along the waterfront of Canton, fronting on to the Pearl or Chu river. The buildings were built expressly for the use of the "foreign devils" or merchants from Europe. The buildings were adjoining one another except for three roads which ran through the line of buildings to the river frontage; they were set back from the water and separated from it by the "square", which was a large paved area clearly visible on many of the Bund²⁰ paintings.

In 1827 the Hong buildings were recorded in detail.²¹ The high walled English building was adjacent on one side to a lane. The Dutch factory on its other side in its turn adjoined the Creek Factory, so called because of the small creek which ran down beside the City on its western side. There were thirteen buildings in all. Immediately behind them running east to west was a narrow but important street called Thirteen Factory Street.

From the front of the British Hong extended a long, broad terrace facing towards the river. Its entablature bore the royal legend "Honi soit qui mal y pense". The Dutch Company Hong had a similar appearance. The English and Dutch Companies were direct successors to those founded in December 1600 and in 1602 respectively. The Union flag, the Dutch, United States and Spanish flags were hoisted daily before their respective factories in 1827 and were said to be visible from a great distance. The Spanish flag represented their Philippine Company. The French flag was hoisted in 1832 after an interval of thirteen years. Portugal was confined to her colony in Macao, and Russia to that in Kiachka.

At the northern end of Old China Street there stood an extensive and handsome building in Chinese style which was known as the Council House Hall. It contained reception and business rooms and was the property of the Hong Merchants by whom it was kept in very good order. In the event of changes to, or additional, regulations, the Taipans or Heads of Houses met and discussed the subject in this building.

²⁰ The term 'bund' is believed to be of Persian origin cf. band (vb close, bind); bandar (quay); and is used in Anglo-Indian to refer to a causeway and in Anglo-Chinese to mean a quayside or harbour frontage. Palmer, E.H. *A Concise Dictionary English-Persian* (London, 1906).

²¹ Hunter 1965 pp.22-24

The terms Factory²² and Hong²³ were initially used to denote somewhat dissimilar buildings. The Factory consisted of dwellings and offices combined, whereas the Hong contained offices for employees such as cooks, messengers and weigh-masters, but was also of enough extent to be able to house an entire ship's cargo, as well as quantities of tea and silks. Later the two terms became largely interchangeable.²⁴

The lower floors of the factories accommodated counting houses, go-downs and storerooms. The room of the Comprador and his assistants, coolies, servants and treasury were all here. In front of the treasury were tables with scales for weighing. The second floor consisted of the dining room and sitting rooms. On the third floor were the bedrooms, which had verandahs. Factories belonged to the Hong Merchants from whom they were leased. No women or firearms were permitted to enter the buildings.²⁵ The rear entrance of the factory was accessible from an arched passage which ran the whole length of the building.

According to W C Hunter, eight regulations were passed in the year 1760 to control access to the river by foreign vessels, to provide for registration of all river pilots and compradors, to limit to eight the number of Chinese employed by a Factory, and to prevent Hong merchants from incurring debts to foreigners. These regulations seem to have remained in force thereafter, though there is evidence from the text of later modifications.²⁶

Hunter also described the British Factory.²⁷ Its occupants are recorded as entertaining in a lavish fashion and the sumptuousness of the premises was said to be proverbial in the Eastern world. The dining room was of lavish

²² The term 'factory' was originally applied not to a building but to the establishment of Factors or Company agents resident in a foreign country.

²³ The term 'Hong' according to Hunter 1965 p.21 meant a row of buildings and was applied to the foreign Factories as to any place of business. It could also be used to refer to a trading firm, cf. English 'house'. This suggests that it may be related to the reading of the 'go' radical as 'hang' a firm or business.

²⁴ Dulles 1930 p.17

²⁵ Ibid. p. 23. Dulles comments upon this curious juxtaposition in the regulations and suggests that women and firearms were probably considered equally dangerous items.

²⁶ A version of these regulations is quoted in Wright, S.F. *The Origins & Development of the Chinese Customs Service 1843-1911: a Historical Outline* (Shanghai, 1939) and in Hunter 1965, p.28. The regulations were first promulgated in 1760 and revised in 1810, the revised form being confirmed by Imperial edict in 1819.

²⁷ Hunter 1965 p.31

proportions opening upon a terrace which overlooked the river. To the left of the dining room was an amply stocked library and to the right a billiard room. At one extremity of the dining room was a lifesize portrait of George IV in royal robes with the sceptre and crown. This was the very portrait which had been taken by the embassy of Lord Amherst to Peking, offered to and refused by the Emperor Qianlong and brought to Canton by an overland route.²⁸ At the other end hung a smaller full-length portrait of Lord Amherst himself. A row of huge chandeliers with wax lights burning in them was suspended from the ceiling. On the table were candelabra and silver service.

In the days of the Company's monopoly the agents or supercargoes of the Company resided in the Factory during the season of business. When the trading fleet had all departed for England, the agents would go down to the Portuguese settlement of Macao to pass the summer months there.

The usual procedure was for goods in the various Factories to be packaged and sent to the waiting ships in Whampoa for loading. These goods were transported in small boats with curved decks and sides called "chop boats" by the British. They could carry five hundred chests of tea or 500 picules of weight.

The Hong merchants were responsible to the Hoppo or Hao-po²⁹ for duties levied on all imports and exports. They themselves lived in palatial residences with fine gardens, grottoes and lakes, some of which were along the Pearl river to the east and west of the Hong. Linguists were employed by the Hoppo to act as interpreters and were licensed. Linguists³⁰ had to accompany ships' officers on any excursions they took. Each vessel anchoring at Whampoa incurred a linguist's fee of 250 dollars. The Comprador³¹ was responsible to a Hong merchant in all matters relating to general good conduct. He was in charge of the servants, cooks and coolies

²⁸ Ibid. p 31

²⁹ Or 'hoppo-man'. With Anglo-Chinese terms it is not easy to trace derivation. The word is generally taken to refer to the Revenue Board. Hunter W.C. 1965 pp.35-6 states: 'The "Hoppo" (as he was incorrectly styled) . . . received his appointment from the Emperor himself, and took rank with the first officers of the province. The Board of Revenue is in Chinese "Hoo-poo", and the office was locally misapplied to the officer in question.'

³⁰ These were probably familiar with Anglo-Chinese or 'pidgin' rather than with English. See frequent examples of pidgin in Hunter, 1965.

³¹ A Portuguese term from Lat. comparatorem, buyer, provider.

that were employed by the Factory, had an overview of everything that went on and was also in charge of the treasury. The Schroffs or money dealers were in charge of financial affairs, particularly in the matter of the all-important receipts.³² They were to be seen daily in the Factories.³³

This, then, was essentially the mechanism which Liverpool seamen encountered on their ships' visits to Canton in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The opening of the franchise

Trade to East Asia was by its nature adventurous and pioneering. Because of this, the people involved in it have left us records, sometimes of a highly subjective nature, as they wrote down their recent adventures in their journals or in letters to their families and friends in order to share with them some sense of the life they were leading in the China Trade. These personal documents sometimes convey penetrating insights into the apparatus of the trade, more so than the official documentation can do.

The history of the Liverpool China Trade has a watershed date of 1834, when the trade was thrown open to the private entrepreneur and merchant adventurer.³⁴ Merchants in Liverpool had been working for this development for many years and they were not slow to seize their opportunities. Various groups of them pooled their resources in order to send ships to Asia.³⁵

While the East India Company had held the monopoly of trade with China

³² These were required by, among others, the Hoppo's department and port authorities.

³³ Hunter 1965 pp.17-31. The word 'Shroff' is of Anglo-Indian origin from Persian sarrāf, money-changer.

³⁴ In 1833 the Legislature finally brought the Company franchise to an end. See Chap.2 Horatio Hardy's letter dated 10 October about the bill to be presented on 11 October 1833. Cambridge University Library, Jardine Matheson archive.

³⁵ Wardle 1949 p.65. See also an account of the public meeting held at Liverpool on 28 January 1829 'for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company', compiled for *The Oriental Herald* (London, 1829). Copy at Liverpool University Library. The document was printed separately by W. Lewer of London and sold by booksellers. In this report reference is made to agitation by the citizens of Liverpool which made limited progress and 'obtained permission to export to India a limited quantity of goods, but, in so doing, they were confined to ships of the Company'. In 1812 and 1813 a deputation was sent to London and there 'met by deputations of merchants or manufacturers from every considerable town in the kingdom'. p.4

and India it was natural that it should retain for its own purposes a body of information about the Company's transactions which preserve detailed descriptions of what was going on. After 1834 we witness, not surprisingly, inconsistency of documentation and dispersal of the records. It becomes more difficult to penetrate exactly what was happening during this period. Therefore such records of individuals and private parties as remain are of great value to the researcher.

The destruction of the Company's monopoly was set in motion many decades before it finally came into existence. The issues concerning the abolition of the monopoly were made explicit by two men at the time when the monopoly to India was finally ended through the continuous petitioning of Parliament by the merchants, a process in which the Liverpool merchants had played a major part. No doubt, once the Indian question had been resolved in 1813, the merchants were given new hope for a similar dispensation in respect of China, but that monopoly was to take them another twenty years to destroy.

In the pamphlet of 1813 *Some facts relative to the China Trade* an anonymous author discusses the issue.

It is justly remarked in a celebrated periodical work, that 'in the state of knowledge in which England is now placed, the existence of such a thing as the monopoly of The East India Company may well be regarded as a prodigy.' The long-wished-for termination of the existence of this prodigy is now arrived; and it is not to be believed, that the Legislature will [prolong] this monstrous system, which, if it ever ought to have existed at all, certainly ought not to have done so for more than half a century.

With this impression in his mind, the writer of these pages would never have thought of publishing on a subject which has been so often and so ably discussed by others, had he not observed, in a late paper, an intimation of the intentions of his Majesty's Government in regard to the renewal of the East India Company's charter, by which he is surprised to find that the trade to China is still to remain exclusively in the Company's hands.³⁶

The unknown author made three significant points. First, is the importance of private trading to the Company:

³⁶ A non. *Some facts relative to the China Trade* Edinburgh 1813 pp 1-2. Pamphlet at Liverpool University Library.

As to the profits arising from the sale of this investment, it can be determined with sufficient accuracy, from that which is realized by the captains and officers of the Company's ships; the chief part of whose emoluments arises from their privilege of occupying a certain tonnage of the ship in which they serve, free of freight.³⁷

Secondly, he made a valid comparison with the American trade which had never in its history been under the domination of one body under government control and had always been an open entrepreneurial trade:

In order to shew, then, that an open trade to China would *not* be attended by those disasters which the Honourable Court supposes, we have only to inform our readers, that it is now a considerable number of years since the AMERICANS began to trade with China; that for some years past they had sent probably from 30 to 40 vessels, of various tonnage, annually; that their commanders and supercargoes find no difficulty in conducting their trade with the Chinese merchants in an amicable manner; and, finally, that their crews had never been known to behave in such a manner as to excite the smallest misunderstanding between the police at Canton and the American factory.³⁸

The pamphleteer indicated the complacency and easy assumption of privilege which marked the Company's dealings. He professed to be surprised to find that the Court of Proprietors claimed that the Company alone possessed

delicacy and circumspection, such a profound knowledge of the habits and manners of the Chinese and such a tender regard for their prejudices and peculiarities, that the members of the Factory in Canton are, forsooth, the only men fit to conduct it.³⁹

The author concludes:

That the China trade is the most lucrative branch of British commerce in the East; that it is an assumption altogether unwarranted in truth, that this trade cannot be managed but by means of a chartered company, enjoying a monopoly.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid. pp. 6-7

³⁸ Ibid. p. 15

³⁹ Ibid. p. 3

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 38

In confirmation of the fact that a gross imbalance existed in the trade between the two countries, the author points out that the profits derived from the Company's exports to China are "very trifling" but that the great import from China is tea, from which enormous profits are derived. He attempts to estimate the annual cost to the Company:

The prime cost of the Company's investment of teas, then, by this calculation, is £1,700,000; and the freight £400,000; so that they bring it to the port of London for £2,100,000.⁴¹

On the whole, in making these comments the anonymous author appears to stand on sound ground. Throughout the history of British contact with China we see again and again the failure of the British to understand and comply with Chinese policies and Chinese customs. For instance the Macartney mission of 1793 provides a good example in Macartney's failure to reach an agreement with and kowtow⁴² to the Emperor Qianlong. The author goes on to state his main case as follows:

The merchants of Great Britain, the private merchants, would need in this trade no power, - no patronage, - no loans from Government, - no Courts of Directors, - no Board of Controul, - no civil and military establishments, - no fighting and no plundering; - none of the indescribable machinery of the existing *imperium in imperio*; they need only *permission* to carry on a fair and free trade. If this be withheld, we know not to what species of wisdom such policy can be ascribed. . .

We apprehend, that with respect to the expediency, the practicability, and the justice of opening the trade to China, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any man, who is not interested in perpetuating a positive evil, at the expense of the great mercantile interests of this country. ⁴³

Another author who identifies himself as W. Lester, Engineer, expressed similar sentiments in a privately printed pamphlet issued in 1813 entitled *The Happy Era to One Hundred Millions of the Human Race; or the Merchant, Manufacturer and Englishman's Recognized Right to an*

⁴¹ Ibid. p.6

⁴² To 'kowtow' or 'kotow' is believed to be derived from the Chinese characters for 'knock' and 'head'. Accounts of the action vary but it seems it was elaborate and involved touching the ground with the forehead nine times.

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 40-44

Unlimited Trade with India: with the Rise, Progress, and Approaching Death of the East India Company's Claimed Rights; Shewing the Time when their Charter was no Monopoly .

As the Company now stands no persons that are Englishmen are allowed to have any private trade except the Company's officers and seamen, sent to India on board their ships: who are regularly licensed to carry out and bring back commodities to a certain value, greater or less according to their rank; but at their return their cargoes are to be consigned to the Company, and sold by them at their next sale. By this restriction a private merchant, let his capital or ability be ever so great, cannot trade to India, if he ships himself and his property on board the Company's vessels.⁴⁴

Though Lester's concern is with trade to India, and the Indian monopoly was the first to be wrested from the East India Company, the state of affairs with regard to private trade applied generally to all regions where the Company traded. At first reading his remarks may seem to contradict what has been said already about private trading. However, we must take into account the fact that Lester is probably concerned here with the kinds of commodity, tea in particular, which a merchant might be interested in importing and not with private purchases of domestic articles such as furniture and ceramics. It is unlikely that the latter had to be consigned to the Company or sold through their agents.

On May 22 1834 the first ship to be cleared out to China from Liverpool was the "Symmetry", and the ship "Euphrates", from Mr Wilson's yard, was launched for the China Trade on the same day.⁴⁵

The Americans and the China Trade

We cannot view Britain's trade with China in isolation. By its very nature the China trade linked many countries. America in particular was to have a marked impact on Britain's trade with China. Indeed America's presence in the China trade, late though it was, introduced a competitive element which

⁴⁴ Lester, W. *The Happy Era to One Hundred Millions of the Human Race* (London, 1813). p.11

⁴⁵ "The Annals" *Gore's Directory* (Liverpool, 1865).

incensed the Liverpool merchants.⁴⁶ The reasons for their anger were understandable: America had overcome the intervention of the British East India Company and now had the opportunity to benefit from profits unavailable to the British merchants.

The first ship to engage in the China trade from America was the "Empress of China" built in Boston, owned by Robert Morris and a group of New York merchants and financed from Philadelphia. She sailed from New York in the year 1784 carrying ginseng⁴⁷, cordage, wine, lead, iron and a small amount of Spanish dollars. By the turn of the century the American trade to the Far East had become well established.

The American contact with the port of Liverpool was very great and their success added weight to the arguments of the British merchants; two such pamphlets have already been discussed. Costin points out that during the Napoleonic Wars American trade with Canton had prospered.⁴⁸ This trade was mainly in tea which was brought to Europe and, in part at least, found its way illegally to England through smuggling. American merchants were in a position to load British goods, for example so-called "Manchester goods" i.e. textiles, at Liverpool and sell these in Canton.⁴⁹

The British China Trade was to change in the nineteenth century, but when we examine the American China trade we can see these changes more clearly delineated. The reasons for this clearer definition are that the Americans were never under the domination of one Company for an extended period as were the British, therefore the protocol of trading was never impressed upon them as it was upon the British with their strict rules on private trading and on the quantities which were allowed.

Before the free-for-all of the 1830s private trade too was carefully regulated. Even in Robert Thomson's day some of the Company's ideas persisted into

⁴⁶ The outcry against the East India Company's monopoly was not limited to Liverpool alone, but here Liverpool is treated as a major source of discontent. At a public meeting held in 1829, see footnote 35, it was suggested by one of the main speakers that the other major urban centres were looking to Liverpool for the outcome of that meeting and intended to follow suit and send delegations to London.

⁴⁷ Ginseng was a root which the Chinese valued for its medicinal properties.

⁴⁸ Costin, W.C. *Great Britain and China 1833-1860* (Oxford, 1937). p.24

⁴⁹ Indeed at the public meeting in 1829, footnote 35, it is asserted that for the Americans re-export of British goods to China was 'their best business done to China'. p.32

an era with new patterns of trading; for example, there was still some private commissioning usually on a customer-to-captain basis.

The great wealth that the early American traders were to accumulate became the seed money for generations of wealth. As there were no firmly established aristocratic families, the Americans were not weighed down by class prerogative. Their entrepreneurial spirit is reflected by the products they brought back; things that were fashionable and popular dictated the trade. Where there were no aristocratic arms to decorate the ceramics, armorial ware was made up for specialist groups such as the Cincinnati Club.⁵⁰

Society of the A

The Americans were no less keen than the Europeans for the trappings of wealth and good living and they built sumptuous monuments to their wealth in the form of great houses and estates. Their attitude towards wealth was exuberant, recorded in the merchants of post-revolutionary Salem furnishing their houses with silks and Canton china. For the opening of the East India Marine Hall the merchants turned out in full oriental dress.⁵¹ This demonstrates that Chinese costumes were worn as well as treasured as ornamental pieces.⁵²

At the Chinese end, demand for Chinese goods led to what amounted to mass production of them. The Americans could not draw upon reserves of silver as the British could, and they had to find goods to exchange. The extent of their involvement in the opium trade is a matter of much debate. They realised there was a profitable market in Canton and that certain commodities could be exchanged for teas and silks, which maintained a solid market in America. Ginseng, used by the Chinese for medical purposes was greatly valued by the Chinese, and this root was grown in the north-eastern states.

The potential of the fur trade for America was also stressed by John Leyland. The British, after Captain Cook's voyage, had discovered that the fur trade from the north-west coast of America could be lucrative. The British could

⁵⁰ Feller, J.Q. 'China Trade porcelain decorated with the emblem of the Society of the Cincinnati' *The Magazine Antiques CXLIII* October (New York, 1980). pp.760-8

⁵¹ National Park Service Salem, *Maritime Salem in the Age of Sail* (Washington DC, 1987). p.57

⁵² In this context the Chinese costumes have been included in this study as trade items.

not exclude the Americans from this trade because the latter had access to an abundance of hides from their internal fur traders. For years Boston was to retain the monopoly of the fur trade. Buyers went overland and by ship to obtain desirable furs, even going to the Pacific Islands for seal skins. The furs were exchanged for teas, silks and ceramics in China.

The ability to take the products of their own country out to China gave the Americans an advantage over Britain. They also acquired sandalwood and "bêche-de-mer"⁵³ from the Pacific Islands. The Chinese artists ornamented and worked on some imported materials, re-exporting many of them. Although sandalwood was used by the Chinese home market for dedicatory burning, it was also re-exported in the form of fans and decorative items. This turning around of imported goods worked by Chinese craftsmen parallels the export of glass from Britain to China, to be re-exported as reverse paintings on glass.

These markets were quickly exhausted. There was little demand in China for American cottons or other products during the 1820s and 1830s and the Americans increasingly turned towards opium. Financed through London bankers, they virtually monopolised the trade in Turkish opium to China.⁵⁴ A pattern of triangular trading was eventually established: American products were taken to Europe and South America, the Spanish dollars accumulated in the resulting exchanges were taken to China and exchanged for the tea, which was returned to America.⁵⁵

The American crews were said to be of better quality and fitter than the British crews; they were keen to take part in the trade and had a vested interest, being allowed to buy shipping space.⁵⁶ It was the north-eastern ports of the American seaboard which dominated the early years of the trade. Later, as a result of the War of Independence, the trade began to include other ports, though Boston, Baltimore and Philadelphia remained centres for trade to the Far East in the 19th century. Boston had been important since Colonial times; Providence declined by about 1812; Salem

⁵³ edible sea slugs

⁵⁴ May, E.R. & Fairbank, J.K. *America's China Trade in Historical Perspective* (Harvard Univ. Cambridge Mass., 1986). p.22

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.24

⁵⁶ Hawes, D. Schuman *To the Farthest Gulf, The story of the American China Trade* (Ipswich Mass., 1990) p.27

fell out of importance during the 1820s, and New York was to rise to great prominence in their wake.⁵⁷

Although tea was important to the Americans, they also imported other trade items in large quantities such as silks, porcelain and nankeens.⁵⁸ The vogue for China and Chinese goods was as deeply established in America as it was in Europe. Viewed in isolation in places such as Philadelphia, the character of trade products was dictated by the religious expectations of the market, in this case a simplicity and austerity which marked the Philadelphian items as distinctive.⁵⁹

Another factor which distinguished the British and American trade is the difference in category of customers. We have seen how the ^{Society of the} Cincinnati Club invented an armorial motif for ceramic wares which they ordered in quantity. This was a gesture almost in emulation of the British, who had been in the habit of ordering their own family motifs upon porcelain. But in some respects, as we shall see, the American market for Chinese export goods anticipated the changes in the British market associated with the entry into the China Trade of outports such as Liverpool.

Details of stylistic requirements in trade items varied as between Britain and America. On ceramics the Americans ordered special monograms, heraldic devices and dedications. The Americans ordered Federal-style copies while, naturally, the British had their own home styles which they wished to have reproduced. Religious quotations in trade art are also perhaps more frequent in the American imported items. This reflects yet again a difference in taste and preference between the two markets. Generally, however, the demands of the two cultures were not radically different. They were motivated by the same desires on either side of the Atlantic and limited by the same factors of availability and utility.

On the subject of the changes that occurred to the trade in the nineteenth century the American market deserves close examination. It could be said

⁵⁷ Ibid. p.50

⁵⁸ A cotton cloth which diminished in popularity in the mid-nineteenth century when American textile industries began to develop.

⁵⁹ In Lee, J. Gordon *The Philadelphians and the China Trade* (Philadelphia, 1984) this characteristic is commented upon p.12

that America underwent the same processes of trade earlier, before ports in Britain had the freedom to partake in the trade. As far as standardization, quality and quantity went, Britain was to duplicate American developments.

Changes in the Eastern Trade

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw many changes in British relations with the East which dramatically affected the mechanisms of trade. During the second half of the eighteenth century the East India Company had established a powerful base in India. The Nawab of Bengal had retained control of foreign trade to and from Calcutta, which was the Company's major port, but his relations with the British had always been relatively cordial. His death in 1756 led to the accession of a new Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah, who did not share his predecessor's complaisant view of the Company's activities. A combination of incompetence and unhappy accident resulted in the temporary loss by the British of Calcutta.

The British response was, predictably, by force of arms and Robert Clive's victory at the Battle of Plassey effectively brought a large section of India under British control. In the 1760s unrest broke out in Patna and Clive, who had retired to England, was brought back to quell it. He established an administrative service in Bengal which required handsome remuneration if it was to save its staff from the temptations of corruption and bribery.

To maintain this system of control a dependable export commodity needed to be developed in order to ensure sufficient revenue. Patna grew the best opium for smoking purposes, but there was no market for this in India, where the drug was usually ingested. However, a rich and seemingly limitless market appeared to exist in China. The snag was that the use of opium had been banned in China since 1729.

A way round this could be found, but it depended on the existence of a black market; the Company relied on the so-called "country traders" to ship the drug out of India and to convey it to the Chinese mainland. The Company was compelled to countenance this illegality in order to finance the enormously expensive administrative service it had set up in India. Tacitly,

no doubt, the Government at home connived at this deceit, for there were cogent economic reasons to do so. A growing taste for tea on the domestic market meant that large amounts of silver had to be shipped out of Britain to pay for it. The import of opium into China gave Britain an opportunity to recover this silver in payment for the drug. So successful was the new venture that the Chinese currency eventually became debased.

In 1793 the outbreak of the Napoleonic War resulted in increased pressure on the British side to sustain their income from the lucrative Chinese market. Silver was now required to support and pay for a large standing army at home. The British Government seems to have been aware of the questionable nature of their dealings with China and it has to be said that attempts were made to find some more wholesome commodity which could be sold to the Chinese. The trouble was that Europe appeared to possess nothing which the Chinese particularly desired. Missions to China to try to negotiate trade settlements were led in 1793 and 1816 by Macartney and Amherst respectively, but these were unsuccessful from the commercial point of view. In 1830 the Emperor Daoguang's son died of opium addiction, and this seems to have brought home to the Chinese authorities the severity of the situation.

On the 15th July 1834, shortly after the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly of trade with China, Lord Napier was dispatched by Palmerston in one more attempt to sort out the political relationship between Britain and China. He was given the title of the First Superintendent of Trade. As Costin points out,⁶⁰ this was an attempt to establish something wider and more secure than a mere business connexion between two bodies of merchants, i.e. the East India Company and the Hong merchants of Canton. Napier claimed equality of status as the King's representative with the Emperor's Viceroy. The Hong merchants stopped British trade in protest. Napier wrote to Palmerston on 14/17 August 1834:

If . . . I find the merchants likely to suffer, I must retire to Macao, rather than bring the cities of London, Liverpool and Glasgow upon your Lordship's shoulders; many of whose merchants care not one straw about the dignity of the Crown or the presence of a Superintendent.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Costin 1937 p.24

⁶¹ Ibid. p.24

Napier fell ill and died in October of the same year and his mission is largely regarded as having been a failure.

In 1838 the Emperor appointed Imperial Commissioner Lin to exercise control over the opium trade in the port of Canton. Commissioner Lin confiscated and publicly burned twenty thousand chests of opium that were in the possession of Canton merchants. The British were incensed by this action which had followed hard upon a succession of stringent regulations restricting the opium trade in Canton. Within one year a British expeditionary force was on its way to China to exact reprisals. Ironically, by his action Commissioner Lin had destroyed the backlog of opium which his restrictions had created and, as a result, the factories were now empty and able to receive the new season's crop of the drug.

Before the end of the year the first Anglo-Chinese War was in progress, involving ten thousand British troops and at least equal numbers of forces of the Manchu dynasty. The major weapon of the British was the armed steamer, which could operate in most conditions and could go almost anywhere on water, particularly in the shallows of the river estuaries. Events therefore effectively contradicted Commissioner Lin's express conviction that British ships would be useless in shallow water and British troops, because of their constricted tunics and tight trousers, ineffective on land.⁶²

At about this time Jardine, of the firm of Jardine, Matheson and Co., had left China and established himself in Parliament, where he soon brought the financial problems of the Canton merchants to the attention of Palmerston. He recommended a blockade of the China coast and the exaction from Peking of a treaty allowing trade with the northern ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai and Kiaochow as well as the occupation of the islands of Formosa, Amoy, Quemoy and Chusan.

The Treaty of Nanking, signed on August 29th 1842, brought about the opening of the new ports and put an end to the former mechanism of trade by which the Chinese had dictated the conditions and regulations under

⁶² Inglis, B. *The Opium War* (London, 1976) p. 135

which trade was to be carried on. Two years later the Treaty of Wanghai gave the Americans comparable rights of trading at the new ports. Even at Canton after the demise of the Company franchise the British had not had things their own way. A petition to Palmerston from Liverpool dated 4th October 1839 stated that "some portion of the trade with China, formerly in the hands of British subjects, has already passed over to the merchants of other nations . . . at least one extensive shipper of British goods has directed his property at Canton to be placed in the charge of an American house."⁶³

If the diversity of nationalities widened, so did the variety of goods for sale. A wider variety of goods became available and this was a turning point so far as the business of private trading was concerned. From now on the tastes and whims of the all-powerful supercargoes no longer defined the nature and timing of the China Trade.

The opening of the new Treaty Ports brought into being a new breed of merchant pioneers along the new frontier. Major problems seem to have been experienced in accommodating to the Chinese way of life. A certain amount of assimilation must have occurred, though this does not seem to be reflected in the surviving accounts of their life written by Europeans. Perhaps the most difficult problem which confronted the new citizens of the Treaty Ports was the imposition of British law on the local Chinese population, with all its implications in terms of mercantile and trading practices.

The sites for the new ports were chosen with care. In each case a foreign settlement was established on the water with a defensive screen of sea or a saltwater inlet between it and the native city. Hong Kong illustrates this, the British community living on the mountainous island separated from the Chinese mainland by the harbour. In Amoy too a defensive barrier of water was present, while in Shanghai creeks served the same purpose. Shanghai was in fact typical of the Treaty Ports in its diversity of population. "The society of Shanghai, and that of the open ports in general, had an artificial quality because it was outside the Chinese social organization . . . In its melting-pot diversity Shanghai society had some points in common with

⁶³ Costin 1937 p.64

the United States or Australia during the same period.”⁶⁴

The Treaty Port culture produced among other features its own style of architecture. We see this illustrated in the various paintings of Bunds which survive with their characteristic rows of square colonnaded or arcaded buildings. The plans of the Treaty Ports all seem to contain the same elements: the bund, the anchorage, the church, the club, the cemetery, the consulate and the racecourse. Despite these similarities of design, the communities were as isolated from each other as they were from Britain, at least until the invention of the telegraph.⁶⁵

The Treaty of Nanking in 1842 put an end to the Co-hong at Canton through whose members alone trade could be carried on. It opened five ports to foreign trade and fixed the tariffs on imports and exports in place of the variable charges which had been levied before. But those British and Chinese government officials who signed the treaty knew well that smuggling was rife and that legitimate trade was still fraught with problems. So consuls were appointed at the five open ports with the duty of ensuring that all Chinese dues and regulations were complied with. An interesting account of the development of customs and harbour supervision is given by S F Wright.⁶⁶

For example, within 24 hours of arrival the ship's captain was required to go to the consul and deposit his ship's papers, manifest and bills of lading. In return the consul would inform the Superintendent of Customs of the register tonnage of the ship and particulars of the cargo. Goods for import and export would be examined by Customs and duty would be assessed. When duty had been paid, the Superintendent of Customs granted a Port Clearance or Grand Chop which would be presented to the consul. The latter would then return the ship's papers and allow the ship to depart.

Of course it would be idle to pretend that this system prevented abuses such as the bribing of officials, still less did it cut down on smuggling. The goods

⁶⁴ Chesneaux, J. et al. trans. Destenay, A. *China from the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution* (London, 1976) p.69

⁶⁵ Fairbank, J. K. *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* first published 1953 (Stanford, 1969) pp.154-7

⁶⁶ Wright 1939 passim

which frequently occurred as smuggled items covered the whole range of dutiable goods but also included explicit contraband such as arms, ammunition and opium. On the 12th of May 1852 in Shanghai the *North China Herald* carried the following report:

The state of things in regard to smuggling gets worse and worse at this port; so far from the recent change in the system of paying duties . . . being of any benefit to the honest merchant, it has left him the victim of the unscrupulous and designing . . . It should not be allowed to compound the payment of legal dues by an instalment of 20 per cent from one hong, 50 per cent from another, and 70 per cent from a third, whilst the honourable man is all along paying the full duties agreed upon by treaty stipulations.

The trading situation was further complicated when in 1853 the Taiping rebels gained control by force of arms of Nanking and the native city in Shanghai.⁶⁷ Both specie - minted silver coinage - and sycee - pure unminted silver lumps used for trading purposes - became scarce as hoarding took place, and it became impossible to pay customs duties in silver. Various temporary expedients allowing paper transactions only led to friction between the Treaty Powers and the Chinese authorities. Finally in 1854 the Chinese Government undertook to engage foreign aid in administering the Customs Service.

In inshore waters and in the approaches to the Treaty Ports it was not yet all plain sailing. Delays in obtaining pilots for incoming vessels, questions about pilots' competence and exactions over and above their recognised fees had resulted in the 1840s in specific provisions in the treaties drawn up for the five open ports for some regulation of the system. No delay was to be tolerated in the allocation of pilots to vessels, pilots were required to be registered at the consulate in each port and pilotage fees were assessed by the consuls.

Despite these provisions, which marked a positive intervention by the Treaty Powers in the Chinese customs arrangements, problems remained. Finally in 1867 new regulations were agreed and these became effective as the General Pilotage regulations. Their effect was to modify in China's

⁶⁷ The Taiping Rebellion or Revolution broke out in 1851 and was not finally suppressed until 1864.

favour the stipulations of the 1840s treaties. Nevertheless they did nothing to weaken the role played by the consuls of foreign powers, who were still in a position to intervene in China's conduct of the Customs Service and of the pilotage system.

The chief significance of China's Customs Service lay in the fact that it was run by a truly cosmopolitan staff and was officially answerable, whatever the practice may have been, to the Chinese Government rather than to the Treaty Powers. In 1868 the post of Marine Commissioner was set up by the Customs Service in order to supervise harbours, control and maintain aids to navigation along the China coast and improve and conserve harbour approaches and berthing facilities for vessels.

Its functions, however, were not confined to matters of trade and transport. For example, it was through the agency of the Customs Service that the Chinese Government between the years 1867 and 1905 arranged no fewer than 25 international exhibitions of Chinese arts and industry in the major cities of Europe and America. Here we have clear evidence of Chinese artefacts on exhibition, and it is difficult not to conclude that the Customs Service was interested in encouraging trade in such articles. The effect must certainly have been not only to inspire wealthy collectors to acquire their own examples of art from China but also to popularize Chinese products.⁶⁸

This, then, was the situation with regard to the China Trade and the Treaty Ports of China at the time when Captain Robert Thomson of the clipper ship "Scawfell" made the first of many trips to China, a careful account of which he has left us in his letters home to his wife and family in Liverpool.

Developments in Shipping

It becomes clear that the China Trade played but one part in the growth of the port of Liverpool, though that role was a dominant one. Over all it was an organic process of expansion and change which was not only dependent on the China Trade but related to other developments taking place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not least those in shipbuilding. As has been established above, the monopoly of trade to the East had been in the

⁶⁸ For information about the Customs Service the writer is indebted to the account given by Wright 1939, see footnote 26.

hands of the East India Company for more than two hundred years. It was only brought to an end by a coalition of merchants who had been harrying the Company since the early seventeen hundreds. In this pursuit the Liverpool merchants seem to have been particularly relentless.

During the period of the monopoly the stout, broad East Indiaman had navigated a sluggish passage around the Cape of Good Hope to the Far East. The East Indiaman was not designed for speed nor was it a highly manoeuvrable vessel, yet it had great capacity overall and was manned by an enormous crew. It was in fact a defensive vessel on the lines of the contemporary man-o'-war. The discomfort and deprivation suffered by the crew upon an East Indiaman is notorious and well recorded. Similar records survive concerning the VOC which dominated the corresponding trade from Holland during this period.⁶⁹ The Indiamen the Americans used differed from the British ships, which averaged about 500 tons, the American ships being smaller.

When the Company lost its hold over the trade to the Far East, this ship became almost immediately out of date. The liberation of the trade franchise brought with it a new concern for speed in what had become a highly competitive environment. Speed was now of paramount importance.

America at this time was building a type of fast clipper ship called the Baltimore Clipper which had developed from the fast war vessels built in France before 1800. The full development of the clipper ship did not start in earnest until after 1850 with discoveries such as gold in Australia. Although the evolution of this vessel type was complex, basically the clipper ship differed from the East Indiaman in its overall lines and sail plan. With the clipper ship the proportion of length to breadth was increased and the waterlines at bow and stern altered drastically.⁷⁰

The arrival in London of the American clipper ship "Oriental" is recorded when she visited London in 1850 and the adaptation of British ships to this design was a relatively rapid process. When the "Oriental" docked in West India dock she had made the fastest passage from China to England of her

⁶⁹ This contrasts sharply with the relatively good state of health of the American sailors.

⁷⁰ MacGregor, D.R. in *Clipper Ships* (Watford, 1979) discusses some of these differences pp.23-26

time, 97 days from Hong Kong.⁷¹

Britain's debt to the Americans was to be a great one, for the Americans had built and were using the clipper ship before the British. Indeed we can record that in the nineteenth century James Beazley of Liverpool was to purchase many ships from the Americans to furnish his fleet, though others were made in Britain. A glance at the American clipper documentation records many clipper ships being sold to Britain from their American service as late as the 1860s and '70s.⁷²

The British clipper had an advantage over the American: shipowners and shipbuilders inevitably discovered the possibilities in clippers and began to construct them in hardwood, as distinct from the softwood construction of the American ships, giving the ships the additional advantage of longevity. Arguably the best of these shipbuilding firms was Hall of Aberdeen.

The desire for fast sailing ships had been a matter of increasing urgency since the Napoleonic Wars. Speed was one factor in the design of the clipper, but the seaworthiness of the vessel was also of great importance. In order to take advantage of the monsoon winds whilst travelling round the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean an enlarged sail capacity was called for. This had the additional advantage of enhanced manoeuvrability in the hands of a skilled helmsman. This feature was in marked contrast to the East Indiaman which, if it sustained damage to its rudder, became a dangerous liability.⁷³

The bows of the clipper were made concave so that the vessel "clipped" the waves. The vessel did not sit on the dead water as the East Indiaman did. As a result, a premium had to be put on holding capacity and the accommodation not only of the crew but also of the passengers became secondary to that of the cargo. Gone now were the days of luxurious berths for the privileged passengers.

Ultimately the speed of the clipper ship depended on the skill and daring of the captain. But the first ship home with the new season's cargo of tea could

⁷¹ Howe, O. T. & Matthews, F. C. *American Clipper Ships 1833-58* (New York, 1986) p.462

⁷² Howe & Matthews 1986 *passim*.

⁷³ This was the cause for the wreck of the Dutch East Indiaman "Amsterdam" lying off Hastings.

be ensured the best prices, and rewards included a substantial bonus on the cargo as well as a special remuneration for the winning captain. The unkind nickname of the "Whipper-in" was given to an excellent ship involved in the tea races during the 1860s, the caution of whose captain made her the last ship home on many occasions.

Of course a company cannot build a new design of ship on speculation without receiving firm commissions from far-sighted shipowners. Typical of this new breed of innovators in shipping was the Liverpool merchant James Beazley. A man of foresight, he realised that by buying half his fleet of twenty-eight clipper ships from America and half from Hall of Aberdeen he could dominate competition in the trade to the Far East and Australia. Beazley was a native of Gosport in Hampshire and was apprenticed to a firm in Liverpool from 1835. He then spent some years in Brazil and subsequently found a post in the office of Miles Barton and Company. Leaving this firm he founded the shipping firm of James Beazley and Company, which prospered from the outset. He appears to have been a clear-headed and capable man, remarkable for his energy and perseverance. He was remembered no less for his philanthropy, being active on behalf of many charitable institutions.⁷⁴

Hall of Aberdeen constructed their early ships of wood, usually oak or birch with some pine, and sealed them with felt and yellow metal. Three of their earliest ships were the "Vision", "Robin Hood" and "Friar Tuck". Their histories typify the rewards and hazards of the clipper trade.⁷⁵

The pre-eminence of the clipper ship in the China Trade was to be threatened by events which occurred in the 1860s centred upon the port of Liverpool. The major event was to be the introduction of steam to the China run. This introduction of steam-driven ships into the tea trade was

⁷⁴ Jones, C.W. *Pioneer Shipowners II* (Liverpool, 1938) pp.71-87.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 1938 pp.79-80: "Vision" built in 1864; 564 tons. First China voyage, Liverpool to Hong Kong, Whampoa and back to Liverpool in 7 months and thirteen days, first ship home...Second voyage, raced the "Cairngorm" to Canton and beat her to Liverpool by 36 hours, winning a premium of £1 per ton of cargo.

"Robin Hood": built 1856; 852 tons. Made voyages from Foochow to London in 116, 100 and 102 days. At the age of eight she was run down in the English Channel in 1864. Insured for £12,577 she had made a total profit during her short life of £26,373.

"Friar Tuck": built 1855 ; 662 tons. Made voyages from Shanghai to London in 116 and 126 days, from Canton and Hong Kong in 103 and 109 days. She was lost in St Mary's Bay off the Scilly Isles in 1863.

initiated by Alfred Holt, a distinguished member of one of the shipping mercantile families of the time dealing in the late nineteenth-century trade and the founder of the Ocean Steam Ship Company which came to dominate the trade.

Alfred Holt was to introduce the compound steam engine as a serviceable alternative to sail in the 9,000 mile voyage around the Cape to the Far East. The compound steam engine was an adaptation of an already designed engine, but one which Alfred Holt had the foresight to see could be utilised and adapted along with other shipping innovations into the successful steamer capable of travelling the long voyage. Although steamers had long been in operation, such lengthy voyages had not been possible because of the problems of accommodating large quantities of coal, and for this reason steam services were limited to short services from the UK.⁷⁶ Alfred Holt saw that, if coal consumption could be reduced, then steam could become a contender to sail on the Far East route.⁷⁷

The compound steam engine had already been used in the Pacific and Orient ship the "Mooltan". Alfred Holt experimented with the engine in the "Cleator" before it was successfully put into use from the year 1865, when the "Agamemnon", "Ajax" and "Achilles" were employed in the trade to China. Holt was a man capable of assimilating new discoveries and employing them successfully. This enterprise involved him in overcoming political obstacles, for the compound steam engine was classified as unsafe under current regulations. The rules governing its use had to be changed and Holt successfully brought this about.⁷⁸

Holt had originally been apprenticed to Edward Woods, the Liverpool engineer of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company at Edge Hill. At the end of his five-year apprenticeship Holt was noted as being a brilliant locomotive engineer with a special skill in boiler design. In 1851 he joined the engineering department of the Lamport and Holt firm, founded by his elder brother George and W J Lamport. In 1852 he set up on his own as a consultant engineer at a time when many sailing ship owners were turning

⁷⁶ MacGregor, D. R. *The China Bird* (London, 1961) p. 112

⁷⁷ Robert Thomson's letters record some of the prejudice these early ships had to contend with from his contemporaries.

⁷⁸ Personal communication from Adrian Jarvis, Merseyside Maritime Museums.

to the use of steam.

The system behind the compound steam engine, involving passing steam sequentially through two cylinders, one high pressure the other low, in order to use the steam pressure twice, had been patented by Jonathan Hornblower as early as 1781 and railway engines already used the system effectively. Holt's opportunity came when he was commissioned by Thomas Ainsworth of Cleator in Cumbria to rebuild his collier the "Alpha" on more efficient lines. The results were so successful that Ainsworth and Holt set up a joint venture to build new ships to Alfred Holt's design, the first of which was the "Cleator", built in Liverpool at Brunswick Dock by Cato and Miller and launched in 1854.

In 1861 the prime mover behind this venture, George Holt senior, died and with him the ready capital which had financed the company. In 1864 the company sold out, though Holt retained the "Cleator" on which he conducted experiments with a new design of compound steam engine. This improved on the old design to enable both cylinders to work in tandem, applying propulsion simultaneously. By December 1864 the "Cleator" had been fitted with the new engine, cutting fuel costs by 40% and Holt had turned his attention to the Far East Trade.⁷⁹ In 1865 with the introduction of steam as an alternative option for a long voyage, Holt became the first to establish a regular steam service via the Cape of Good Hope to Mauritius and on to the ports of China.

The mechanics of handling cargo remained primitive, however, and it was the inefficiency of these mechanisms on the steam ships which enabled the sailing ships to remain in competition. The costs of laying up a steamer were also more expensive than a sailing vessel and this often forced steamers to load with any available cargo at unfavourable rates for the return voyage and not to wait for longer periods as the sailing ship could.⁸⁰

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was to have repercussions on the China Trade. No longer was the route round the Cape necessary; the length

⁷⁹ Hawes, D. *Merchant Fleets 6: Blue Funnel Line* (first publ. Liverpool, 1984 updated 1986) pp. 11-16

⁸⁰ Cargo capacity of a steamer was 3000 tons plus coal at 10 knots for 8,500 miles. MacGregor 1961 p. 114

of voyage was reduced by 3,000 miles and coaling stations along the route provided the opportunity to carry less coal on each voyage. The square rigs on the steamers were phased out by Holt after this date. It had already been found impracticable to retain the square-rig mainsail behind the ship's funnel because of the fire hazard. Steam finally gained a foothold over sail, which previously had offered competition to the steamers not only in speed but also because of prejudice and the expense of loading and purchasing cargoes in China.

The steamers themselves were much larger, with greater cargo capacities than the clippers. A direct consequence of their size proved to be the problem of filling them with tea, other cargoes having to be fallen back upon when tea was in short supply.⁸¹

The shipping statistics gathered for the port of Liverpool in the period 1865-79 show very clearly the rise in the importance of steam and the decentralization of trade from London, where the trade had been concentrated during the two hundred years' dominance of the East India Company.⁸²

The shipping statistics demonstrate how sail vied with steam over the preliminary years of competition. Both sailing ships and steamers during the first four years of the period had to travel around the Cape. The sailing-ship captains were well experienced in using the monsoon winds and the currents in order to navigate this dangerous passage. Steam vessels had to economize on their coal to a large extent, often making use of sail instead, and for many years steam vessels retained masts.

Another important factor and one which emerges later on in the statistics is that steam vessels probably took much longer to load. They had a much increased cargo capacity. Evidence for this can be found in Robert Thomson's letters. However, from 1869 we see a sudden rise in the dominance of steam vessels between the Far East and Britain. The opening of the Suez Canal was to have a dramatic effect on the competition between sail and steam. The route to the Far East was dramatically shortened.

⁸¹ Captains Thomson and Kidd record a variety of problems that the early steam vessels had to face in China.

⁸² See Appendix I for full shipping lists.

Furthermore, the winds of the Suez Canal were insignificant and therefore sailing vessels found themselves becalmed. Here the steamer could gain precious days over its sailing competitors and therefore after the Suez Canal was opened the number of sailing ships steadily and speedily declined.

The comparative statistics of sail and steam further illustrate how Holt rapidly rose to dominate the Trade from Liverpool. Few other companies could put up adequate competition against the Holt Line. The rise of Liverpool to become a leading port in the China Trade within a short period of time is therefore largely due to the influence of this one man and, although from 1834 the Trade was opened to entrepreneurs and many of the merchant competitors, by 1875 Holt had largely eliminated this entrepreneurial competition so far as carriage to and from Liverpool was concerned.

During the eighteenth century port records for Liverpool are incomplete and depend upon records of dues paid. During the nineteenth century Liverpool grew in importance as an international entrepot. In this the port had two advantages over its rival ports; first the head start it had attained through the rapid development of its steamship trade and second because of its position in the middle of the United Kingdom linked by an elaborate transport system with the major manufacturing centres. By 1857, Liverpool's exports amounted to about 45 per cent by value of the total exports of the United Kingdom. By comparison, London accounted for 23 per cent, Hull for 13 per cent, Glasgow for 4 per cent and Southampton for less than 2 per cent. In the fifty years which followed, Liverpool's share gradually fell to about 36 per cent. Where imports were concerned, in the middle of the nineteenth century Liverpool accounted for about one third of the total for the United Kingdom, and this too was gradually to diminish.¹

These statistics do not refer to the China Trade alone, but it is clear from evidence to be discussed in Chapter Two that the China Trade accounted for a high proportion of the trade which passed through Liverpool in the nineteenth century. Other ports with a high profile in the China Trade at this time were Glasgow, Bristol, Dublin, Leith and Cork.²

¹ Hyde F.E. *Liverpool and the Mersey: an economic history of a port 1700-1970* (Newton Abbott, 1971) p.97.

² Horatio Hardy's letters p.45 of this thesis refer.

CHAPTER TWO: SHIPPERS AND SKIPPERS

One method of answering some of the questions posed by the history of the nineteenth-century China Trade is to look at the subjective documentation left by people engaged in the trade, and try to evaluate their attitudes towards the trade and what they collected. Through these records it should be possible to gain some insight into how the trade changed in the nineteenth century, not only in the mechanisms of the trade itself but also in the type of people who were acquiring products of the export trade. The documents available for examination are chiefly contemporary with the events described and range from official records to private letters. These will be examined for the evidence they provide about private trading by individuals, and for details relating to the effect of shipping technology on the time and opportunity available for private trading and speculation.

Horatio Hardy's Reports

A valuable insight into the rise of Liverpool as a dominant port in the nineteenth-century trade to China is recorded in the letters Horatio Hardy wrote to Jardine and Matheson¹ in China. In these letters he kept his correspondents up to date with current affairs in Britain as well as the situation surrounding the termination of the East India Company's monopoly of trade with China and the effects which this had upon the China Trade shipping and trade as well as the employees.

Horatio Hardy seems to have been in a position of authority at the Jerusalem Coffee-House in London, indeed it was the venue for a meeting of the Committee of the London East India and China Association. This association was clearly established after the fall of the Company Charter. Reports from it accompany Hardy's correspondence and date from 1837 and 1838 when concern surrounding decentralization of the China Trade must have been at its height. Some of this concern is preserved in a document enclosed in letter dated 10th October 1833 from Hardy to Jardine and Matheson Canton.²

¹ The Jardine Matheson archives are now in the keeping of Cambridge University Library.

² Letter number 38, A7/212, 10th October, 1833.

It is a matter of deep interest with the "LONDON CAPITALISTS", whether this [port] shall be taken out of employment, and the immense trade consequent thereon TRANSFERRED TO THE OUTPORTS. Should this be the case, thousands of persons must quit London, the effect of which will be felt to an extent not to be described.

The SHIP OWNERS will be the first who will feel the loss of the trade; and next to them, thousands downwards to the carmen, who are employed in this hitherto MOST IMPORTANT BRANCH OF TRADE to the City of London.

If therefore , at the last hour, it is not promptly and zealously taken up, the "Tea Trade" must be inevitably lost to the "Port of London".

Hardy tells of the various effects resulting from the demise of the charter:

The Government plan for the renewal of the Charter, will be brought before the House of Commons on the 11th Inst. in the shape of resolutions by the Rt Hon^{ble} Charles Grant: two Bills are prepared Copies sent to the Court of Directors yesterday, the particular sections are not to transpire until the Ministers publish them. The one Bill is to regulate the affairs of India under the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The Second Bill to regulate the Trade with India and China, making the whole World free to the interprize of the British Merchant. ³

Even at this early stage Hardy was clearly aware which ports were poised on the brink of participation in the China Trade. He continues:

The Port of London it is expected will feel the change for the ports of Lpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Dublin and Cork are to have bonded warehouses for teas.⁴

and in another letter:

There are great preparations making at Lpool, Glasgow & Leith, and a great number of ships will flock to China from all parts of the East in April next⁵

The demise of the charter had a drastic effect on the Company's employees. Hardy related some of these concerns:

³ No 21. To Jardine and Matheson Canton or Macao 7th June, 1833.

⁴ No.21. To Jardine and Matheson 7th June, 1833.

⁵ Continuation attached to letter No.42, 14th November ,1833, to Jardine and Matheson Canton .

The state of the Companys service in regard to the Commanders and Officers becomes very serious, they are in lamentable suspense as to future employment; the Petition to the Court of Directors for compensation for their expected losses and to know the state of the Popular Fund, remains unanswered. All their Petitions for the last five years shared the same fate.

The Court of Directors and Proprietors abandoned the China Trade, without any appeal or resistance; it is true the voice of the Country, and the views of Government demanded it, but the maritime Service are not prepared for so sudden a change, another Season was expected, and the sacrifice of so large a property as the value of Fifty 1300 Ton Ships is considered a desperate reform.⁶

The finality of the new regime is apparent in this quotation; once again he quotes Liverpool as one of the destinations for the tea to the outports:

whether China in regard to the trade, is to be managed by the Commission, Council or Consulate has not yet been divulged. The Trade cannot be opened until April 1834 under certain regulations, but it is absolutely certain not one ship is to be sent out by the Company. The Teas in Stock and what is coming home in 1834, will be sufficient to supply great Britain until 1836, consequently no teas can be imported into great Britain before that year. In respect to the sales, it is not yet made known whether for the sake of Tax Duty of 100 p. cent or whether all is to be sold in London, or disposed of at Lpool, Bristol, Hull, Glasgow, Leith, Dublin and Cork, but instead of advalorem duty it is to be granted according to the Value of the tea, so as to bring the maximum of revenue between the fine and common Teas and produce the revenue as if the whole were at 100 p.cent.⁷

He writes concerning the process of decentralization which, not surprisingly considering how anxious the merchants of the outports had been during the preceding decades, was quickly activated in ports such as Liverpool.⁸

There is considerable activity in the manufacturing Towns and all Foreign produce rising fast; but is considered speculation or modern enterprise, and not health or positive commission⁹

⁶ No.24. To Jardine & Matheson Canton or Macao, 26th June, 1833.

⁷ No.24. To Jardine & Matheson Canton or Macao, 26th June, 1833.

⁸ No. 33. To Jardine & Matheson Canton, 13th September, 1833.

⁹ No.33. To Jardine & Matheson Canton, 13th Sept, 1833.

The advent of the new independent ships into the trade was worthy of Hardy's attention, it is interesting that he clearly discounts the smaller vessels as these were clearly of little consequence to Jardine and Matheson's concerns in China.

The Berwick Captain L. Thomas 1300 is fixed this day to sail to Bombay & China the 1st March on private a/c and the Asia, Capt Bathie for Madras, Bengal, and China makes the second large ship begun for the ensuing Season.¹⁰

Another point of interest was that the duties upon this early trade were considered exceedingly heavy and moreover this affected the outports as well as London. It is also apparent that trade directly to China could only commence after the 22nd April and this will account for the indirect routing he recounts prior to this date.

There can be no English ships sail direct for China until 22nd April, the duties of 2/- p. ton, and 7/- p. £100 Goods are not liked by the Merchants in London and the outports. I hear a meeting is soon to be called for the purpose of representing its hardship of these charges to the Merchants.¹¹

All the Brokers, tea dealers and merchants interested in the Tea Trade, are petitioning Parliament to revoke the scale of Tea duties

* * *

I enclose the last new List, which contains only the London ships, the Lpool and Glasgow loadings appear so uncertain that I am afraid to name them for fear of exaggeration.¹²

Following the date which allowed for direct trade to China, ships from Liverpool were quick to participate on the direct trade and clearly worthy of note by Hardy:

The Jumna from Lpool direct to China to sail 5th Ult^o will no doubt arrive before the Hythe.¹³

¹⁰ No. 4. To Jardine & Matheson, 14th January, 1834.

¹¹ No. 4. To Jardine & Matheson, 14th January, 1834.

¹² No. 11. To Jardine & Matheson Jerusalem Coffee House London, 3rd March, 1834.

¹³ No. 16. To Jardine & Matheson Canton, 28th April, 1834.

The Company were forced to sell all their holdings within a short space of time following the end of the charter:

The Companys own ships, Hoys [?], Wharf, Warehouses &c with all connected will be sold in June and July next, that no remembrance will be retained of their late Commercial character. Nine Millions lbs of Tea will be put up Quarterly including Decr afterwards 4 Millions lbs Quarterly commencing in March 1835, to allow the free Trade to be brought to Market.

Hardy often sent communications to Jardine and Matheson via the port of Liverpool: it was obviously an effective alternative for sending fast communication to China when there were no scheduled departures from London. Although there were some costs involved in sending material up the coast to Liverpool, which on occasion he found excessive to his needs, Liverpool was nevertheless clearly at this early date a major port in contact with China.

Captain Thomson's Letters

Captain Robert Thomson [Plate 1]¹⁴ and Captain Alexander Kidd [Plate 2]¹⁵ both worked for the Holt company involved in trading to the Far East. They span the crucial period of the transition from sail to steam. Robert Thomson captained a clipper in the China Trade, and then became second captain of the first steamer, "Agamemnon". Captain Kidd was the first Captain of the "Ajax", "Agamemnon's" sister ship, and the second steamer launched upon the China Trade from Liverpool.

The information which Robert Thomson and Captain Kidd have recorded differs greatly in its form, but Thomson's letters and Captain Kidd's retrospective journal can both broaden our understanding of the Trade in this period. The evidence they give us about trade during the nineteenth century can serve as comparative evidence for how the Trade changed over the period under discussion. They contribute information concerning the changes in shipping, changes in shipping routes, Treaty Port culture, their understanding and contact with the Chinese, their attitudes and concerns, and valuable insights into how the trade was carried out from Liverpool.

¹⁴ Photograph of Captain Robert Thomson [R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]

¹⁵ Photograph of Captain Alexander Kidd [Maritime Archives, Merseyside Maritime Museum]

Kidd's journal will be considered below.

Robert Thomson is an especially valuable source for us, because his collection is in part still preserved in Liverpool in the collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, whilst the archives at the Maritime Museum preserve his letters to his family recording in detail information concerning his own private trading activities. Men such as Thomson were examples of the entrepreneurial spirit which had come to dominate the trade. His acquisition of goods is dominated by his desire to make a profit; his private trading activities occupy a good part of his correspondence with his wife Nell [Plate 3]¹⁶. The eighteenth-century fashion for chinoiserie which had dominated the century at certain points was no longer a dominant fashion in the decorative arts of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The growing familiarity of the West with China had changed people's perception of the continent which had earlier been surrounded by mystique.

Robert Thomson clearly felt that there was no necessity to relate the politics of the trading mechanism with which he came into contact in China. No doubt he felt such information unnecessary in the context within which he was writing, the nature of the letters being family orientated. Naturally enough, his wife Nell would be well acquainted with the processes involved and perhaps less concerned with these. Another important consideration is the times that Thomson sailed in. The Treaty Ports had already been sanctioned and were fully underway as trading centres in his day. However the times were those of unrest and part of the problem was the opium problem itself. Thomson scarcely makes mention of it; he does in one instance tell of the soldiers arriving at the port. These were times of war and contemporary papers published in China recount the problems of the day clearly. But why does Thomson fail to mention them? Could it be that the ports' isolation from the Chinese communities was so great that such current issues were not of paramount interest. Thomson surely bought the papers, and we must assume therefore that he did not feel these issues fit reading for, or of interest to, Nell.

¹⁶ Photograph of Helen Bruce Thomson 1870? [R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]



Private Trading

The letters of Robert Thomson give us some useful insights into private trading. Close examination of bills of entry and bills of lading and appropriated berths rarely discloses information about private trading. With Thomson we gain an intimate knowledge of his successes and failures in this area. Thomson's own legitimate enterprises absorb him.¹⁷

December 5th 1859

I am to bring home about £150 worth of tea on my own account to try what I can make.

Scawfell Calcutta March 8th 1862

I am shipping today to friend of mine in Columbo 30 casks buffalo Humps upon which I hope to make £15 or £20, I will also have a Speck with me to China upon which I hope to make A little more so you can see that I am not forgetting myself entirely, send me word to China how much money to send you, because it is likely I may buy a Speck [speculation] of tea & will want all the money I can scrape together.

May 27th 1864

I have told him [Whyte] to buy there as [?] four small boxes of tea for me they will be a little dere but good they will also give me a small box in a present here. I like the House of Birley and Co. much better than Birley Worthington of Shanghai, and I have been spending more money today in buying in a work box and a writing desk, but I think this will be the last now as I am to be economical not having made any money this voyage.

I have not sold one of the watches I bought from George whats his name I have forgot it, so that is thirty pounds dead stock. I am to leave them here with Mr. Whyte of Canton he may have a chance to sell some of them before next year it will be better than bringing them home again where there is no chance of selling them at all.

Scawfell, Whampoa 23/5/64

I am to bring home a set of Chessmen and a chessboard to you this time and considering that I have payed for them with cheese you will have to put the more value onto them & I have plenty more cheese unsold yet. I have really sold a great many things but certainly they are not at an end yet & more than £120 I have left in Hong Kong & will have to take a chance whether I loose or win, however nearly all I have sold

¹⁷ The Robert Thomson letters in the archives of the Merseyside Maritime Museums are as yet unaccessioned and unnumbered. They are identified by the date of the initial entry.

yet has bought me A little profit although not so much as I have been accustomed to on former occasions. I have made up my mind never to have so many things again as they are a deal of trouble but my Hams are pronounced the best in Hong Kong & I could have sold more of them.

Scawfell Hong Kong July 10th 1866

I have sold most of my spec - some at little profit but some I have done very well with. I have got the money for the copper which I am very glad of as these are critical times here, there are two banks down since I have been here & some others they say are rather shaky.

Scawfell Foochow August 5th 1866.

. . . . I had a letter from Mr. Clarke before I left Hong Kong saying that he was still to stick to his former arrangements & hoped the young lady would come out next time, the brooch was not ready but he is to send it here as soon as it is, I am to write him by next steamer, he has bought a good many things from me besides the value of the money I had to give him & if I had had more Hams, Cheese, beer or porter he would have taken it, but I could have sold plenty more of that to many other people if I had them, they are the only things that pay nowadays.

Scawfell Foochow Sept. 21 1866.

Well now I may just tell you that I have been selling a good many odds and ends since I have been here, things which if I had got quick dispatch I should have sold but very little of so that we may say that it is a bad wind that blows nobody good, they amount to about \$150 & I had been buying some little things but not much, I can not keep entirely from spending money.

Scawfell Sharp peak River Min Oct. 7th 1866

My Dear Nell,

There was a letter from Rathbones last mail which was written after hearing of my arrival and they are quite pleased of the quick passage of the "Scawfell" but I suppose they little thought what luck was waiting it is 110 days since I arrived in China and I was only 103 days on the passage out. I have been spending more money since I wrote last, although I always say I am not to spend any more, but some of it I expect to make a profit on. I have bought 21,100 canes and two logs of camphor wood . . . I have also bought two Chinese brass guns which I think will pay well if I only can sell them . . . and I have a great deal of tea, this time more than we want, so that I must try and sell it. I expect I shall have 60 or 70 lbs more than you want. It is all high price tea

October 14th 1873

I have been to see Mr. Pike of Birley & Co. he has taken all my hams.

ss. "Agamemnon" Canal Oct. 12th 1874

.... there will be no chance for Jenetta's chairs this voyage as I am not going to Penang. I am very sorry as I would like to bring her some. I do not think I can get them at Singapore, but I will enquire.

The history of private enterprise dating from the first days of the East India Company makes a relevant study here. We know from the early documents and speeches relating to the Company that private trading was a legitimate part of business, and that the Company, unable initially to suppress it, actively accepted it while setting certain controls upon it.

The comments on private trading are the most important aspect of the Thomson letters in the context of the Merseyside Oriental Collections, especially since several items which Robert Thomson collected for his own family are now in the possession of Liverpool Museum. Thomson's wife Nell was clearly involved in the trade and appears to have acted as his agent both in the disposal of goods shipped privately by him and by canvassing commissions for him to execute. He repeatedly discusses the finances of private trading with her and what he has or has not sold or purchased. He recounts the problems of shifting stock and of leaving items with the agents to sell in his absence, and equally importantly he discusses a number of the items he is buying and selling. It would appear that many of the items are objects which have had individual orders placed with him, for example the chairs that are required by Jenetta and which he feels he will be unable to get on a particular voyage.

We know too that the selling of foodstuffs such as cheeses and hams in the Chinese ports was a common practice in the trade. This arose from the necessity of relieving the ship of excess food reserves and there is evidence to suggest that it led to the practice of carrying excess quantities in order to profit from the demands of the resident Europeans and the Treaty Port markets.¹⁸ Robert Thomson in his letters clearly states that this was his practice too, so that it is clear that a practice dating from Company days was

¹⁸ This practice is mentioned in Sutton, 1981, p. 73.

carried on into the post-Company period.

The official lists of outgoing cargoes recorded in the bills of entry etc. give us a good idea of the types of items marketable. Thomson's personal trading does not seem dissimilar; he provides quite a good list of private export items: cheeses, hams, watches. One of the interesting side-lines to the Thomson letters are the references to the "likenesses" first that Thomson sent to his mother in Scotland, and secondly that his wife has. It would be natural to suppose that these were either miniatures or Daguerrotypes, and that they were somewhat of a novelty, especially if we go by the account given by Thomson's mother, Elizabeth. It would seem that Nell has three likenesses, and these include Mr. Whyte, the agent at Canton. These facts are interesting in view of the trade in portraits by Chinese artists which formed a large part of the purchases made in the Treaty Ports.

A major part of the privately acquired items for the return voyage to England was of course tea. Initially an amount was bought in for his own family, but then an excess was apparently handed over to his wife for disposal. Perhaps the intention behind his details of private purchases was to prepare her in advance so she could line up her customers, and although among these there may have been family and friends it would seem that the profit element was an important one. Besides tea, there were further items including two logs of camphor wood, two guns, 20,000 canes, this selection being mentioned in just one letter and therefore representing in part or total just one journey.

We can conclude from this that the ship's master had a subscribed allocation of accommodation for his own cargo, items that were never fully declared in the Bills of Entry, unless they are included under the title of "misc." There is a further possibility that this may not be the full quota of goods being carried by Thomson. The custom of an allocation of private cargo space for ships' officers goes back to the Company days when quoted amounts were permissible. The evidence suggests that at least as far as ships' captains are concerned this was extended to the free trade and probably accounted for a substantial supplementary income.

Robert Thomson mastered the "Scawfell" on the China run from 1859 to 1871. It was during this period that the Tea Races were at their height and Thomson was clearly a keen participant in them and his successes are recounted in his letters. Indeed Thomson was responsible for some of the fastest times recorded.

Thomson continually discusses the fluctuating prices of tea and the problems he faces in its purchase. It appears that the Agent was responsible for getting the best price possible, of course with the added impetus that the ships had to race and get the fastest passage home. Some of his letters are about the ships and the times they had made, as well as the current prices being reached for tea.

ss Agamemnon 70 miles from Hong Kong 1873

Oct.14th My dear Nell, I was on shore last evening at Mr. Green's & spent it very pleasantly in chatting about the race home. All the P&O people are in A great way about the "Vanitie" doing so badly & I had a nice bit of fun at them . .

ss Agamemnon Hankow May 14th 1874

. . . . I expect to sail in a week at least. The market is just opening & they intend to load us quick. The race lottery was drawn last night & as I did not know I was not there of course and am not in it. The "Agamemnon" was favourite & brought \$175, last session she only brought \$40. The others brought about \$1000 each some more some less. The "Cawden Castle" is next favourite & is they say a fast vessel.

The races and performances also occupy Thomson on some of his evenings. It is known from the earliest records of the Treaty Ports and life within them that sport was central to their male-orientated population.¹⁹ There were of course race-courses and these would be the location of Thomson's occasional visits and excursions into gambling. Gambling on the ships' voyage times too seems to have been a pastime, and he quotes incidents when money has been lost on bets, either on the races or on the arrival times of ships.

¹⁹ Fairbank, 1969, p. 161.

"Scawfell" Hong Kong July 10th 1866

My Dear Nell,

I now sit down to write you again and hope it will find you all quite well Since I wrote you last Alfred Holt's new steamer "Agamemnon" has been here and sailed again for Shanghai. She has made the quickest passage ever made by any steamer viz. 69 days & that includes 3 days at Mauritius, 3 at Penang and four at Singapore & was only 3 days behind her time. . . and if I had liked it I could have won a good many Dollars by betting but I did not like to risk it, however it is my belief that they are to be quite A success and if so I hope I will manage to get one of them sometime.

Sometimes, especially when he is working under steam, Thomson is frustrated by the fact that there is no tea available, and it would appear that the ships already loading gained the natural priority. Furthermore, once he had transferred his allegiance to steam, he was to find that the new steamers were simply too big to fill quickly and cheaply, and their size counted against them in this process.

"Fleur Castle" Foo Chow June 8th 1877

We have not got any tea yet, nor is there any sign of getting any, the merchants seem to be buying very slow & they seem to be frightened at my ship she carries so much but after this ship goes away, & the "Ajax" goes away in two days time, I think we will have some chance of getting some tea as there are only two more steamers here besides us, that is after the "Ajax" goes away, The "Viking" & "Penguin" & I think I ought to stand as good a chance as any of them, but I hear that the "Viking" is to call at Amoy and Hong Kong & probably we may have to do the same that is if we can get promise of any Cargo there. It is a pity that we were sent here at all, but the fact is that "Braemar Castle" lost her reputation so much here last year that they were afraid to send her back, so they sent us here and her to Hankow where we ought to have gone, she is loaded there I hear at £4 & we are here and not commenced yet & probably will not get more than £3, when we do load, the Castles have got into bad report here through the "Braemar" which was always here before, they have nothing to say against my ship only that she carries to[o] much & there is no tea in the place to load her, our own agents are not buying any until the teas get cheaper they lost to[o] much last year. So having to trust for what we can get from other people is the reason we cannot get A start, as everyone ships their tea in the ship that is nearest full.

Once a ship left the port with an inadequate cargo it then became the responsibility of the Captain to see that the cargo space was filled with anything that could justify some sort of profit, but on occasion the ship ran at a complete loss. Captain Kidd too states this as a problem.

The freight and purchase prices of tea seem to have fluctuated greatly from year to year and Thomson continually states these rising and falling prices. Information on this was sometimes reflected in the newspapers back in Britain.

Sail to Steam

An analysis was made earlier into the development from sail to steam and the sailing routes in use. Three major stages were recorded, East Indiaman to clipper, clipper to steam, and the route changes attendant on the opening of the Suez Canal. Happily for us Thomson spans the period from clipper to steam and the opening of the canal, and he records for us the successes and failures of the early steamers. Importantly he was one of the first captains on the new compound steam engine vessels introduced by Holt. He writes at length to his wife about these vessels, telling not only of his admiration for them but also for Captain Middleton;

"Scawfell" Hong Kong July 10th 1866

I never met Capt. Middleton before but by what I can see of him he was just the right man to select for the first one, he was glad to meet me and I put of Hong Kong fashions, and I took some of my friends on board to see her which he always made welcome, he has no pride about him and cannot come up to the great swells here

but the man's there for all that.²⁰

Middleton was the first captain of the "Cleator" and had been associated with Alfred Holt from their early days with Ainsworth in the development of the new version of the compound steam engine. Subsequently he became master of the "Agamemnon" [Plate 4]²¹, the ship Thomson was himself to captain in a few years' time. Thomson's faith in Holt's early steamers was strong.

"Scawfell" Hong Kong July 10th 1866

She [the Agamemnon] took everyone here by surprise as no one would believe that they would ever do it, there were only Birley and Co's clerks and me that stuck up for her before she arrived and every one laughed at us, but when she came steaming into Hong Kong before anyone saw her then we had the laugh, but even Birley and Co's people did not believe that she would do it, but of course they being the agents it was their place to stick up for her, so that in reality it there was only myself that had the confidence.

Scawfell, Foochow, Sept., 21 1866.

The "Ajax" steamer has arrived and made as fine a passage as the "Agamemnon" they are quite a success. She will be home again before me although when I left home she was not all built.

²⁰ A brief comment on the language of the Letters will not be out of place here. Elizabeth Thomson, Robert's mother, writes in what we might refer to as good Scots leavened by a few regionalisms or dialect words. A notable example is the use of "sunsy" in the sense of "good-looking" in the letter to Helen dated 19 April 1855.

"They would not allow me to take them of the Table but took them up again and again and looked at them you may be sure every feature of you was examined most minutely they both declared they did not think there was such a sunsy Dame in all Liverpool...."

Robert's language is familiar and, bearing in mind the period at which he was writing, colloquial. This is appropriate, for he was writing to his family. A few technical sea-faring words occur in the Letters, as one might expect, and no doubt his family were familiar with these, as almost any of the citizens of Liverpool would have been at this time. Up to the end of the Second World War Merseyside depended on its shipping as the main source of its prosperity.

It is difficult to say how typical of nineteenth-century Scots Robert's language is. If we had more of his correspondence with his family in Aberdeenshire, we would be better able to judge. The word "forenoon" for "morning" seems to be a typical Scotticism which is still used today. In place of "beaten" Robert writes "betten" and instead of "beat" in the past tense he writes "bet". A passage in his letter to Helen dated 10 July 1866 seems to contain an echo of Burns.

"He has no pride about him and cannot come up to the great swells here but the man's there for all that."

"Gie fools their silks, and knaves their wine,
A man's a man for a' that."

²¹ Photograph of the "Agamemnon" [Maritime Archives, MMM]

Thomson clearly felt that the ships would be a success, but it was not a popular opinion. It would seem that the arrival of the ships in China was greeted, at least by Thomson's associates, with some cynicism, which of course proved to be unfounded. Indeed the practice of betting money on the ships is mentioned in this connection and it would seem that quite a lot of money was lost on that particular issue. But later on in his letters he relates the steamers' shortcomings at length. The faults in the design of the ships dogged the early voyages and are especially noticeable in the Diary of Captain Kidd, Thomson's counterpart on the "Agamemnon's" sister ship the "Ajax".

Another issue of interest is the history of the compound steam engine employed by Holt on his new vessels the "Ajax", "Agamemnon" and "Achilles". The invention of this steam engine is generally attributed to Holt whose early experiments with the "Cleator" are widely recounted. The story of Alfred Holt presents us with an interesting example of perseverance, for he failed five times in various business ventures until on his sixth venture he decided to try shipping to the Orient.

We considered Bombay and Calcutta but finally settled on China mainly because tea was a very nice thing to carry, and partly, as far as I at any rate was concerned, by a remark Sam Rathbone, when discussing with W.J. Lamport the prospects of sailing ships, had made. That remark was somewhat as follows: "Steamers may occupy the Mediterranean, may tentatively go to Brazil and the River Plate, but China at least is safe for sailing vessels." I suppose the fiend made me say, "Is it?"²²

In autumn 1864 Alfred and Philip Holt decided to venture into the China trade and Alfred employed George Forrester and Co. to build to his designs a compound steam engine. The idea behind this new engine was that it would overcome the problems of the large consumption of coal in regular steamers, which would not permit long voyages and which imposed a limit on cargo space. The experiments with the vessel "Cleator" were such a success that the "Ajax", "Agamemnon" and "Achilles" were built to accommodate the new high pressure boilers and launched upon the China trade under the house flag of "The Ocean Steamship Company", travelling 8,500 miles around the Cape to Mauritius as an unbroken journey, then

²² Quoted in Jones, C. W. *Pioneer Shipowners* (London, *1938) pp. 118-9 and also in Chandler, G. *Liverpool Shipping* (Liverpool, 1960) p. 215.

sailing on to Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong or Shanghai. Holt was continually to refine the engine throughout his life, and both Thomson and Kidd describe some of the problems that these early steamers faced.

Clement Jones asserts that the compound steam engine was the brain child of Holt; however David and Steven Howarth claim that P&O started with the compound engine experiment in 1861 with the "Mooltan", a 2,257 ton vessel with a screw propulsion and complex engine which halved the normal coal consumption.²³ We can deduce therefore that efforts towards minimising the consumption of coal for long journeys were being made at an earlier period than Holt's experiments with the "Cleator" but that Holt certainly was the first to engage upon the China trade with such success, founding a Liverpool company which was to be highly profitable.

It is possible to estimate the amount of shipping from the port of Liverpool bound for China in the years when Alfred Holt was bringing in steam by consulting the port records of the time. A detailed analysis of these records has therefore been made and the tables below provide a summary of the findings.

The transition from sail to steam which can be seen in Liverpool shipping bound for the China ports between 1865 and 1879 carries with it a marked increase in the potential cargo tonnage moving in and out of the port.²⁴ At a conservative estimate we can approximate to the tonnage carried if we posit a broad average figure for all clippers and for all steamers as follows. Clippers were generally of about 800 tons gross and carried cargo, including ballast, of up to 150% of the gross tonnage. The earliest three Holt steamers were a little over 2,000 tons and carried cargo up to about 3,000 tons. Later ships were of greater capacity. Let us therefore take a figure representing the under-deck tonnage measured in units of 1,000 tons and we get 1.2 for clippers and 3.0 for steamers.

The figures of Liverpool-berthed China-bound vessels from 1865 to 1879 are shown below. The tables show both the density of ships powered by sail and

²³ Howarth, D. & S. *The Story of P & O Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company* (London, 1986) p. 95.

²⁴ Steamers went either to London and then up the coast to Liverpool or directly to Liverpool occasionally in his letters during the return voyage Thomson says he is uncertain as to which port he is bound for.

steam which passed through the Port of Liverpool between 1865 and 1879 [Table A] and the cargo tonnage this represented [Table B]. What we can never be certain about, of course, is how many ships were loaded to capacity on the outward or on the return passage. It is important to bear in mind that by far the greater part of this shipping in the 1870s consisted of ships of the Holt Blue Funnel Line or, as it was originally called, the Ocean Steam Ship Company, with Liverpool as their home port.

Table A: Shipping Density

YEAR	SAIL	STEAM	TOTAL
1865	22	1	23
1866	13	3	16
1867	17	5	22
1868	24	7	31
1869	21	6	27
1870	6	20	26
1871	6	25	31
1872	5	31	36
1873	4	31	35
1874	0	31	31
1875	2	33	35
1876	1	35	36
1877	4	33	37
1878	6	32	38
1879	1	34	35

Table B: Cargo Tonnage

YEAR	Sail	Steam	UNITS (1,000 TONS)
1865	26.4	3	29.4
1866	15.6	9	24.6
1867	20.4	15	35.4
1868	28.8	21	49.8
1869	25.2	18	43.2
1870	7.2	60	67.2
1871	7.2	75	82.2
1872	6	93	99
1873	4.8	93	97.8
1874	0	93	93
1875	2.4	99	101.4
1876	1.2	105	106.2
1877	4.8	99	103.8
1878	7.2	96	103.2
1879	1.2	102	103.2

Life Ashore and Aboard

Another aspect of Thomson's letters is the quality of life available to him in Liverpool, where he and his family lived very comfortably. The lifestyle to which he was accustomed is reflected in his life ashore in China where he spends time describing in detail his activities ashore, what he was wearing and what he was doing, and whom he met.

It is the other Westerners who are mainly of interest to him and Nell. Going to church is one event he recounts, describing the preacher, Burns, as a colourful character who mixes freely with the Chinese population though at considerable personal risk because of his calling.

December 5th 1859

I am happy to inform you that I was in Church last night for the first time since leaving Newport, it was on board of A ship

& the minister A Scotch man in A Chinese Dress his name is Burns, he wanders from place to place among the Chinese sometimes well treated and sometimes ill treated, other times robbed or in prison but still he preserves [perseveres] he was nearly starved to death in prison at one time and that Governor Yea that you have the likeness of let him out the only good action they say ever he did in his life, I think he would do more good nearer home with his preaching

Besides religious observance Thomson spends time socialising. He frequently finds time ashore hangs heavily upon him.

SS Agamemnon Shanghai May 2nd 1873

We are lying here now doing nothing but scraping & painting it looks as if we were idling time away, it is the first time I have had nothing to do abroad since I have been in steam, so I have been passing my time the best way I could, the races are just over they lasted three days. I had a free ticket to the Grand Stand, & am sorry to say spent some money on the occasion.

Fleur Castle Foo Chow June 8th 1877

I have been at Foo Chow the last two days stopping with the agent, but as I had nothing at all to do & it was very hot I was glad to get down again & now that I am down I have got nothing to do here so that I am just as bad.

and he seems to spend time boarding newly arrived vessels, which he implies to be a customary practice,

Scawfell, Hong Kong, July 10th 1866

I went on board as soon as she anchored.

Fleur Castle Foo Chow June 8th 1877

I was on board of one ship today, A steamer going to the Colonies he wants some [flares] & have some to spare & will have to take his letter on board of the "Viking" as the Captain has got his wife and daughter on board & I knew him before so he will think it very neglectful, but I will have to Apologise, perhaps I will go tomorrow.

and going out to dinner, sometimes with the other Captains,

Scawfell, Hong Kong, 26th April 1864

I was going to Lunch with Capt. Hadden yesterday but it rained so hard that I could not go,

occasionally where ladies are present,

Scawfell, Wampoa, 23rd May 1864

Now I may as well tell you that I was out dining yesterday with Capt. & Mrs. Minto they are the same that brought home A box of tea from last time I loaded here and sent it to Scotland if you recollect and there was a Post Capt. in the Navy of the Company so you see that I was amongst the aristocracy.

SS Agamemnon Shanghai, May 2nd 1873

I am invited out to dinner tomorrow evening (Saturday) & on Sunday. There are to be ladies on both occasions but I suppose no particular etiquette. I have been at both places before, I was on board A ship one evening where the Captains wife had a baby two months old, born at sea, what do you think of that . . .

Fleur Castle Foo Chow, June 5th 1877

There was a fantastic performance up at town the other day, & I was invited by the agents & of course got A free ticket, & I got the same in Shanghai in the like occasion, of course it was full dress, & I was full dress all except the gloves I could not manage that my hands are too big. I was the only ships master there with the exception of two coasting boats, & it is curious that there has been a performance each time I have been at Foo Chow with the "Fleur" & I have always been at them, the doctor here & his wife went up and down with me in A.B.'s steam launch it was 1/2 past one in the morning when I got on board.

The Jardine Matheson Archive

Nineteenth century records retained in the Jardine Matheson archives in Cambridge give useful information about the private orders placed with the Company and with its agents. Not only are details given of the commodities required but some idea can be gained about the period allowed for delivery of goods and the forms of payment. The general nature of some orders, at least where design is concerned, and the high specificity of other orders indicates that a degree of flexibility could exist in the choice of purchases. Very often the order is in the form of a guide to the buyer rather than a commission.

Occasional references to the need for rapid delivery and to fashionable demand give us a picture of a fluid market. Payment was always on the

return of the items since the amount expended in the Treaty Ports could not be predicted; however, it appears to have been quite usual for the buyer to quote a ceiling price.

The policy of Jardine Matheson seems to have been to deliver objects purchased as soon as possible, and this accounts for the fact that space was often bought on board other companies' ships. Thus we have a record of the "Scawfell" carrying an order for Jardine Matheson in 1862. The nature of these orders and the manner of their execution account for the fact that bills of lading are not always helpful as a guide to privately imported items. In some cases the person placing the order requests that items be undeclared.²⁵ The following selection of orders is taken from the years between 1840 and 1870.

J.G.Harrier, London 25th Nove. 1850²⁶

Our silk market is rather inactive and the prices for Chinese about 6^d lower . It is probable that the political affairs in Germany will depress it still further. Should your market be affected in a corresponding manner you will be pleased to purchase & ship for my account to London 100 Bales (one hundred) Good Taysam Silk if you can obtain it to cost here 11s/6^d (say Eleven shillings and six pence) . . .
Sent to Shanghai Jany 1857.

J.J. Kander Spar Mr. Point de Galle 25th January 1857²⁷

Oblige us by procuring another silver pint jug like the last you sent us except the initials which are to be "W.I.E.J."
Sent to Canton Feby 1857

A. Ramaswarmy Chitty 13th Sept. 1851²⁸

Herewith stand you a small Indent, which I thank you to execute in the best style and dispatch by the first Steamer carrying to this port.

200 leaf Fans-----at 5 \$ per 100
200 lady's -----dr-----at 6 \$ per 200 ?
3 caddies of Black sewing Silk at 4 \$ ea. caddy
2---dr---of white-----dr-----at 4\$---dr-----

²⁵ The writer is grateful to Professor R. Whitfield who drew her attention to these records in Cambridge University Library, and to Matheson & Co. who gave permission for access. With that permission, the records are available on request from the University Librarian.

²⁶ Order Book A7151, p. 62.

²⁷ Order Book A7 151, p. 66.

²⁸ Order Book A7 151, p. 29.

5---dr----of yellow-----dr-----at 3\$---dr-----

Richard Alexander Esq. Mazulpatum, 26th December 1846²⁹

10 10\c Boxes best Pekoe

10 ----- Hyson

later..

1 Set of very handsome Ivory Chessman

2 handsome Tea Caddies

2 Pieces brown ? or Silk and marker ^{RA} and a separate Invoice

IHC

to be made out.

Thos. Weeding Esq. London 19th Jan 1847³⁰

orders the following China ware for Sir John Doveton, to be forwarded by the first ship sailing to draw upon Mr. Weeding for the cont.

2 soup Tureen, round and of moderate size

3 Dozen Dinner Plates of the accompanying size
10 inches in diameter

1 ----- Soup Plates -----dr-----dr-----

1 1/2 --- Dessert Plates- 8 inches in diameter

2 Oval flat Dishes - 1 foot long

1 Sallad Bowl

2 Elevated Compotiers 10 inches in diameter & 6 inches high

of this form

} large 4 3/4 diameter
small 4 3/8 -----d-----

4 of a smaller size, 9 inches in diameter & 4 1/2 inches high

They ought to be rather shallow

The accompanying gives the design of the set, but each piece to which it belongs varies in subject

The muster Plate received the Braganza Str. Sir J. Doveton informs me that in the original set, though the style was the same, there was the greatest possible variety of the subject, each plate was different from the other and he wishes this variety to be preserved as much as possible

²⁹ Order Book A7 150, p. 11.

³⁰ Order Book A7 150, p. 10.

order sent to Canton 24th March 1847 Executed by J. William
Stewart 15th June 1847

Crepe Shawls³¹

to be embroidered on good Crepe- A handsome contrast between the embroidery and the ground, and between the various colours of the embroidery. the shawls of Sovereign in 1841 have been the prettiest received here and his last much to be preferred in the execution of the shawl order. Old style patterns are to be avoided. Tulips, sunflowers, pineapples, bunches of grapes, all interspersed with the pattern smaller flowers. will answer, as well flowery vines, large and graceful leaves-- flowers plants; leaves and vines should alone constitute the embroidery and the most original the more neat and pretty the arrangement and more valuable the shawl here-- The color of the shawl to be designated on the bottom of its Curton. Size of the Curton should be for the best shawls and large $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mara Square for 2nd size Shawls 2 inches less in size 8 Childrens shawls $1\frac{1}{3}$ mara Square--All to have handsome centre pieces--

Assortment of colours grounds and fringes for large shawls and no of shawls for each colour

Grounds	Embroidery	Fringes
4 Dark coffee	various colors	1 Turkish Blue 1 Silver White 2 Imperial Green
4 Light Coffee	idem	1 Silver White 2 Imperial Green 1 Turkish Blue

etc..

Ralph Smith Capt. 28th Reg. Bengal. Vol. October 23rd 1843³²

1 Chinese Puzzle in a small square box.....

Archibald Boyd Leamington 5th March 1844

It was a matter of regret to me when observing the very low rates of freight current in China at the date of the last advices, more especially when joined with a moderate rate of exchange, that I had not sent out for an order for the purchase of Cassia & upon which the freight generally tells

³¹ Order Book A7 149, p. 42.

³² Order Book A7 149, p. 54.

heavily on the cost of importation. It may probably be too late now, but as this will reach you at a time when shipping is generally little in demand, I think it worth while to take the chance of your being able to make one shipment on favourable terms.

If then the following goods can be shipped within the undermentioned limits for the cost free on board in China with insurance freights to London I shall be obliged by your shipping for the joint account of my Brother Mr. M.J.Boyd & myself of

Cassia of fair average quality of within 45/- (forty five shillings) per cut from 750 to 1000 peculs

Star Anniseed of good quality of within 40/- (forty shillings) per cut 200 peculs

Rhubarb of good to fine quality if within 2/- @ $\frac{2}{3}$ per the according to quality 150 peculs- but none inferior at any price

China Root if within (twenty shillings) 20/- per cut 500@ 1000 peculs

Galangal if within (ten shillings) 10/- per cut @ 300 peculs

Camphor if within £8 (eight pounds) per cut No @ 150 peculs - taking care that there be no mixing of salt or Saltpetre which has been the case with a good deal imported lately.

May 18th order sent to Canton

Galangal, Cassia & Star Anniseed not procurable at the limits

Rhubarb - procurable - to be ready in all July

China Root-----do----- only to the extent of 350 pl

Camphor order to Canton countermanded

Procurable outside a portion of the purchases in Amoy & Hong Kong to be appropriated in this acct
Soy - 20 Ahos? purchased @ \$7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ppl.in Canton

John Middleton Oriental Club London 6th Feb. 1844³³

³³ Order Book A7 149, p. 98.

To ship by the first good opportunity the following articles
1 Set Lacquered Seapoys
1 Tea Caddy on Stand
1 Work Table

All of the best description of
lacquered ware

a small quantity of China ware ornaments for a mantelpiece
say \$20 in value including two pair cups &c &c
2 Pair Garden Seats (1 pr porcelain & 1 pr Blue pattern)
2 Sets Nankin porcelain ware washhand basins pretty large
size with Goblets (not jugs) Soap & Tooth brush dishes &c

30th Sept Received of "Ariel" from Macao & deposited in
the godown.

January, shipped per "Pathfinder" for London Memo of 6
cases & "Ariel" for J. Middleton Esq.

No.1 - 1 Case cont of 1 Lacq Work Table Hipqua
----2 - 1 ----- 1 set do Teapoys-----do-----\$55
----3 - 1----- 1 --do-- Tea Caddy & Stand ----do---- \$35
125
----4 - 1 ----- 1 Pair Garden seats Porcelain Cumchong
--12
----6 - 1 2 Sets Washbasins &c \$10 Cumchong --20

An order attached to that of George Grey Russell & Co specifies the
following among others³⁴

2 Dozen Plain Ivory Dinner napkin Rings same as those
shipped last year
1 Dozen Small China Pots suitable for Toilet Tables
1 Sandalwood Box containing almost 150 mother of Pearl
Counters
1/2 Dozen Sandalwood Fans
3 or 4 Chinese picture books

Samuel Ladd & Co Wellington N.Z. 19 Dec 1873³⁵

Chinese Gold Filigree Jewellery about £100 worth Brooches,
Earrings, Sets, Slides, Sleeve links, Bracelets, Locketts,
Necklets, &c &c.

³⁴ Order Book A7 157, p. 50.

³⁵ Order Book A7 157, p. 50.

Goods to be well stocked so that no room is lost in the cases

J.A.Rangel 10th May 1862³⁶

Wanted from Foochow, some good new Congon with one fifth of Oolong mixed with it to be packed in 100/- caddy boxes and consigned to J.A. Rangel, London, by a ship after the "Flying Spear" ..

pr. Scawfell 20th June

Weacher & Co. Quarterly Indent

We have on order for a Chinese Lady's dress of fashion complete with shoes. Will you therefore procure us one and send it by return of steamer. It is for a European and we would suggest a full medium size.

We copy our correspondent's order which we beg you will meet as far as possible. Kindly have the box tin lined and secured and hurry it off with a memo of charges.³⁷

From this sample of correspondence we have evidence of various types of goods being requested through the Company in execution of private commissions: ceramics, Western costume, Chinese costume, metalwork including brooches, cuff-links, bracelets, locket, necklaces, gold and silver jewellery, silverware, porcelain tableware, Chinese puzzles, dried herbs and spices, camphor, silk by the bale or made up into costumes, silk thread, ivory chessmen, tea caddies, a worktable, garden seats in ceramic ware, washhand basins and ewers, soap dishes and toothbrush dishes, ivory napkin rings, toilet sets, sandalwood items, fine teas, Chinese pictures and books, fans, paintings, and a Chinese Lady's costume complete with shoes. The last is specifically for wear by a Western woman and presumably the shoes were of the Manchu rather than the Chinese type, since the Manchu women did not favour bound feet. The shoes were probably, however, with platform soles.

³⁶ Order Book A7 156, p. 1.

³⁷ Order Book A7 156, p. 89.

Captain Kidd's Journal

Like the letters of Robert Thomson, the retrospective journals of Captain Alexander Kidd are preserved at Merseyside.³⁸ Captain Kidd went to sea as an apprentice in 1845. In January 1857 he took command of the "Cleator" in the trade between Bordeaux and Liverpool. He was one of the original captains of what came to be called The Blue Funnel Line and commanded the steamer "Ajax" the sister ship of the "Agamemnon" and similarly he recalls a great deal of information about the introduction of steam, although he does not mention his private trading activities at any point.

1866. Here begins another stage of my voyaging. In Febry made a short trip in a new ship of Lamport & Holt's (S.S. Humboldt). I took her from the builders Leslies on the Tyne with a cargo of coals to Gibralter & returned to Lpool via Lisbon. This was a test & trial trip with Alfred Holt's new engine. Mr. Lamport thought the engine was a failure. Alfred Holt thought otherwise and sent me to prove it was all right in the Humboldt.

Mr. Holt had three steamers building with his new engine the Agamemnon, Ajax & Achilles for a new trade (via China & the East) & we commenced a line which has continued ever since & risen to a large concern & now comprises 23 large steamers & five small ones & I am still in command.

It is clear that the eventual success of the Blue Funnel Line, as it was later to be called, can be attributed to the steadfastness of Alfred Holt's faith in the new compound steam engine, sometimes in the face of considerable expert opposition, and to the patience and persistence of captains like Alexander Kidd whose loyalty must have been highly valued by Holt.

Problems of the early Steamers

Captain Kidd does not preserve for us the same details that Robert Thomson does; however he does give us some insights, if only to remind us of the perils of the voyage and some of the technical difficulties that beset the early steamers. The increased speed and capacity of the steamers was purchased at a price. One of the recurrent needs was for supplies of coal and a voyage had

³⁸ Captain Kidd's journal, in both original and transcribed form, is available in the Merseyside Maritime Museum archives in Liverpool. Quotes cannot therefore be located by accession or page numbers.

to be planned with the coaling stations in mind. Frequent mention is made of the ship's putting in for coaling, as in the following entries.

S.S. Ajax Octr 18th 1867. Left Liverpool commencing a third voy to China, had it rather rough the first 4 days. We called at Santa Cruz, Canary's Tenerife, coaled and proceeded on the 1st Nov. We met our sister ship the Agamemnon (S.S.) Captain J. Middleton came on board got a few articles he required and then we parted.

Here we see the first mention in Kidd's journal of the "Agamemnon" afloat under Captain Middleton's command.

I returned by Rail to Alexandria & sailed for Liverpool & had a rough & prolonged passage, called at Queenstown, short of coals. We got to Lpool on the 11th Decr [1869] all well.

What is revealing about Captain Kidd's notes, however, is that the early steamers had many more problems than this. On the 1867 voyage in March whilst proceeding down the Thames on way to Liverpool the "Ajax" collided with a smack "Pride of the Dart" which ran between her and the tug towing her. On the same voyage they lost the propeller at Penang and at the end of January 1868 had another collision leaving Shanghai.

Left Port Louis on Monday 3rd Decr & Arrd at Penang Tuesday Decr 17th. Lost the propellor in getting underweigh & got towed down to Singapore by the British India S.S. Co's Mahratta. Went into Dry Dock & put on another screw & started for Hong Kong on Monday 13th Janry 1868. Arrd at Hong Kong Janry 22nd & proceeded for Shanghai 25th Janry. Arrd Shanghai Jan 29th had a collision with the ship [?] Family doing some damage but not very serious, called at all the Ports on the return voyage & arrd in London Monday 4th May 1868.

It is not clear from the entries above how far the increased speed of the steamers constituted a problem for skippers of other vessels, who were perhaps unable to estimate accurately the steamers' speed of approach.

Even life in port was not without its dangers. A major disaster was when the ship sank in the Shanghai river at her moorings and was 24 days under water.

We arrd in Shanghai on the 9th of Sepr 1868 but we met with great trouble before we got away from Shanghai, our poor Ajax sank in the Shanghai river at her moorings & was under water for 24 days destroying a lot of property, the accident occurred through the shaft running out of the stern pipe while under repairs caused by an unusual current running up the River. After strenuous exertions & spending about £17,000 pounds, we got our good ship afloat again & made all right & returned home again, arriving in London on the 19th Febry 1869 all well - after discharging homeward cargo steamed round to Lpool arriving there 2nd March 1869.

In 1870 in the Red Sea returning from China the crank shaft broke and the ship was towed up to Suez at a cost of £1,000.

Loaded for London by the way of the Red Sea & Suez Canal passed through Hong Kong and Singapore, got on alright until about half way up the Red Sea when we broke our Crank Shaft, the weather very hot. I made a bargain with the Captn of the Steamer Brazilian to tow us up to Suez for £1000, where we arrd in due time towed through the Canal repaired & proceeded for London where we arrd on the 29th Augst 1870 having made a fairly good voyage.

Voy Eight Friday May 19th 1871. Started on another voyage to China in the "Ajax" had the usual round having some trouble on the way home with the stern post broken. Got to London Oct 13th/71. Afterwards towed to the Tyne to repair Stern Post.

12th Voyage. Thursday 26th June 1873. Started on another voyage to China & returned to London 7th Novr 1873 and steamed round to L'pool, remained in L'pool all winter getting new boilers.

Again in 1877 the ship suffered damage with a breakage of the shaft in the stern pipe causing her to go into the port of Bombay for repairs.

19th Voyage. Thursday March 22nd 1877. Commenced another voy. to China. All went well on the outward voyage & homeward we met with a bad Accident breaking the Shaft in the Stern Pipe to repair which it was necessary to get back into a Dock. We made all the sail we could set & with a fair wind made for Bombay where we arrived safely having been 9 days under sail covering 1300 miles, on Monday 16th July 1877 and during our detention while effecting repairs had lots of trouble in many ways and everyone especially the authorities did not do anything to favour a distressed ship. However we helped

ourselves and got away from Bombay on the 4th Octr/77. I have anything but an agreeable opinion of Bombay facilities to effect repairs to a disabled ship.

Occasionally the ship was out of service for what seems to have been a complete refit.

21st Voyage. Sunday 23rd June 1878. Another voy to China and back to London arrd 6th Novr 1878 after a fairly successful voyage. After this I took the Ajax to Greenock to undergo extensive alterations.

The Life of the Company Seaman

It is clear from Captain Kidd's account that delays on the voyage could involve direct as well as indirect forfeits. Reference is made in the following extract to a penalty barely escaped.

Satdy 9th March 1867. Commenced another China Voyage. Had a good passage to Mauritius 41 days 8500 miles. After staying 3 days sailed for Penang and made good work to that place. 2 days there & on again to Singre where we arrd on the 12th May on again to H Kong and Shanghai where we arrd on the 4th June & stayed there until the 20th June when we commenced the return voyage calling at H. Kong, Singre, Penang & Mauritius and after a good voyage running on Time, 75 days, the Penalty £3,500 which we just saved by 3 hours. Arrd in London 2nd Septr 1867. We had an accident coming down the Thames on our way to Lpool. A smack (the Pride of the Dart) ran in between the steamer towing us & our Bow. We struck her & she sank soon after above Gravesend. We proceeded & got to Lpool on the 11th Sepr 1867. Ending the 2nd Voy to China in the Ajax.

Rarely, shipboard life was interrupted by adventures involving no direct hazard for the ship or crew.

4th Voyer June 25th 1868. Commenced another voy to China in the Ajax, had a good passage & arrd in Mauritius on the 4th Augst left again in pursuit of two Chinese Absconding Debtors with a detective. On the 12th day caught the S.S. Quang Tung & put the detective on board who apprehended the delinquents on arrival at Singapore but they were released through some

informal nature of warrant & the scoundrels got away with a lot of stolen money 8000 Pounds in gold, the Mauritius creditors were furious at the action taken by the Singre authorities & made it a subject with the home Government.

As part of his duties and on instructions from the company, Captain Kidd made efforts to travel to witness the opening of the Suez Canal.

While in Alexandria at the request of Mr Alfred Holt took a passage in a Russian Steamer to Port Said for the purpose of seeing the Suez Canal, it was opened at that time, the Inauguration was a fine sight. I had a conversation with Mr Lesseps for the information of Mr Holt about the Canal. I took a passage to Ismailia in a Post Boat & remained one night there, fortunately I found a bed at a small tavern & met an old acquaintance a Swiss Mr Ernst who at one time lodged with Mrs Nicoll in Lpool. We saw all the preparations being made at a new Palace of Pasha Ismail for the reception of his grand visitors "Eugenie" Francis Joseph & a lot of others to a Ball in honour of Opening the Suez Canal. The whole altogether was a grand sight and worth having seen.

But physical danger was never far away and fatalities occurred fairly often. In December 1870 the Chief Engineer was lost overboard; he had been sailing with Kidd for 14 years.

Thursday Decr 8th 1870. Started on another voyage to China via the Suez Canal in the "Ajax" had a rough time after leaving and had a sad misfortune in the loss of my Chief Engineer David James who had been sailing with me about 14 years.

This additional entry in his journal was ominous in foreshadowing the circumstances of his own death.

We did not know how or when he went but supposed he must have been washed overboard during the night, his loss cast quite a gloom all over the ship.

Sometimes too a ship's captain would be involved in litigation, which he might later have to justify with his employer. In 1877 the ship suffered another collision in the Suez Canal which detained her for four days; "a lot of hard swearing done" he wrote, by which it appears he means that the officers of the other ship committed perjury (it is unlikely that strong

language aboard a ship would be considered worthy of comment).

18th Voyage Wednesday 4th Octr 1876. Commenced another China voyage returned to London 3rd Febr & L'pool 14th Febr 1877 - had an accident on this voyage, the British India Co's S.S. "Agra" run into our Bow while we were at Anchor in Suez Roads doing considerable damage to both ships which detained us 4 days to repair. Although she was to blame we had to pay, A lot of hard swearing done on the other side lieing well and I think paid the referee well. However not very serious. Mr Holt got my explanation & believed I was right.

In November 1878 after a "fairly successful voyage" and while the ship was undergoing extensive repairs in Greenock sad events occurred which serve to emphasize the hazards of shipboard life, whether at sea or alongside, and the ever-present risk of sickness.

While the ship was in Greenock I lost two officers, old servants. Mr Bisson fell down the hold & was killed, was with me 10 years. Mr Hobson 2nd mate died of inflammation after a very short illness, he had been with me 10 years, their loss was very keenly felt more especially by my worthy Chief Officer Mr Wm McGaw.

Freight and Loading

The 1866 voyage of the "Ajax" was not a successful one for it would seem that on reaching China where they waited a month they ended up with very little tea cargo. "I was rather puzzled what to do with a fine ship going home one third full" he wrote. It would seem that captains such as Kidd had to rely on their own initiative to fill the hold, and this Kidd did by taking on wool, this initiative being commended by Holt on his return.

I had a good passage to Penang where we loaded some cargo & took a lot of Chinese deck passengers for Hong Kong and proceeded on to Singapore discharged cargo from Lpool & filled up with local freight & passengers and started for Hong Kong and after a good run up the China Sea arrd in Hong Kong all well, remained 5 days there, finished our work and started for Shanghai had a fairly good passage and arrd in Shanghai Sept 20th 1866.

We stayed a month in Shanghai waiting to see if times would mend but found things getting no better. Started on the return voyage with very little cargo and very poor prospects. Still I had faith in something turning up. We took all we could get at Hong Kong & Singapore & Penang and we left Mauritius with 2000 tons space to fill up. I was rather puzzled what to do with a fine ship going home 1/3 full not very promising for our new trade. But when approaching Algoa Bay I thought I would call at Port Elizabeth & try if I could get any cargo there, fortunately I did. We filled all our space with wool at a very fair rate & thus enabled me to finish my first voyage very favourably and got complimented by Mr. Holt for the way I had managed.

It appears that the increased capacity of the steamer and the need for her to pay her way throughout the voyage involved the steamer captain in careful planning and negotiation. This must have been very different from the management of a clipper ship, where the need was to make the journey in the shortest possible time and with the minimum of stops en route in order to get the best price for tea on arrival in Britain.

Sunday April 11th 1869. Commenced another voyage to China in the Ajax calling at Cape Town, Mauritius, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong & Shanghai taking the same ports on the way back & after a successful voyage arrd in London 23rd Sept 1869.

Saturday Janry 1st 1870. Started on another voyage to China in the "Ajax", had a good passage & arrd at Table Bay, Cape Town on the 31st Janry then on to Mauritius, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong & Shanghai. Shanghai to Amoy & Hong Kong where we loaded a cargo principally Rice for Yokohama, Japan & returned to Shanghai.

Loaded again in London for Malta and Alexandria & started Sept 24th arrd back in Lpool Novr 10th 1870.

A great advantage of the steamer was that she did not have to wait for favourable winds before setting out to sea and was able to vary her ports of call in accordance with her needs. As we have seen from Captain Robert Thomson's letters, a balance had to be struck between time spent in port in order to load to capacity and the changing freight prices and which would affect the overall profit to be gained from the cargo. We shall see that this tendency to spend more time in the major ports, especially the Treaty Ports,

had an effect on the amount of private trading which ships' officers could do.

Life in the Treaty Ports

Of the many insights which the two men give us concerning the China Trade and the mechanisms involved in it, one fact stands out as central to our present theme. Emerging several times in Robert Thomson's letters, this fact can be isolated as a key to the general nature of those export items which were involved in the private trade. Because steamers were larger, they took longer to load than the smaller clippers had taken. Thomson speaks of the amount of time he had on his hands during his visits to the Treaty Ports, and he discusses how he spent this time.

We have seen that there were many leisure activities to be enjoyed, but ships' captains were also very much concerned with making a living. Like the Europeans residing in the Treaty Ports, they were aware that their hazardous career might not last long and it was up to them to make the most of their business opportunities. We have seen too from Captain Kidd's journal that a seaman's family was a constant concern to him and financial provision had to be made for them, as well as the gifts which were bought for their pleasure.

One recent change was that, since the opening of the Treaty Ports, Europeans now had something very like colonial status in China. Their presence demanded from the Chinese craftsmen a style at once unhindered by the preconceived notions of chinoiserie back in Europe and also quite distinct from Chinese productions for home consumption. The Treaty Port culture, as it can safely be called now, sought goods from the Chinese craftsmen which were observably different from those of the export trade in that they reflected a growing quasi-colonial consciousness.

A parallel can be seen in colonial India, where the European residents had their own ideas of what was desirable in Indian manufactured wares and furnished their homes in a style that was neither Indian nor yet European. People imitate one another and residents abroad are quick to discover

qualities in the native wares which are based not so much on careful application of the best aesthetic taste as on the example set by those in their community who were seen as eminent and therefore to be imitated.

Robert Thomson, and no doubt Alexander Kidd too, came into contact with these people and joined in their social activities. Thomson, and men like him, were exposed to the tastes of the Treaty Port settlers, and of course the availability of "desirable" export goods was influenced by their presence. The objects which Robert Thomson returned with, whether they were for reselling or for private use, were to some extent dictated by this availability and by the fashions and enthusiasms of Treaty Port society.

Family

We should not lose sight of the fact that family life was often very precious to men like Thomson and Kidd who were compelled by the nature of their profession to spend long periods away from home. It is not surprising that, when the opportunity offered, they took care to buy presents for their wives and children. We are fortunate, in the case of Robert Thomson, to have some of these in the Merseyside Collections.

On rare occasions Kidd's family members joined him on board, as Kidd himself records.

We called at Malta for Coal, called at all the usual Ports and returned to London arriving there on the 12th April 1871. Afterwards steamed to L'pool, had my wife with me on the Voyage.

Thursday 21st Octr having loaded in London. Started for Tunis, Malta & Alexandria, had my wife & 3 children, Alick, Annie & Willie. At Tunis we had an opportunity of going to visit the ruins of Ancient Carthage and the Tomb of St Louis at Malta, we visited St John's Church & other places worth seeing.

20th Voyage. Tuesday, 18th Decr 1877. Commenced another Voyage to China with my wife on board. A trip for her health but I fear it did not do her much good probably the reverse but the intention was for her benefit. We called at Colombo on our return voy. & arrived in London on the 15th May & L'pool 26th May 1878.

Went home with my wife who had come from London with me. While at home in Keswick I was much grieved to find my wife's health failing. I did all I could to help her but had to leave again to take the Ajax from Greenock to London to load a cargo there for China.

Shortly after this Kidd's wife, who had accompanied him on his previous voyage in the hope of improving her health, died. Captain Kidd was deeply affected by her loss, and entrusted his children to the care of friends and relatives; unfortunately these proved unsatisfactory arrangements.

22nd Voyage Wednesday 12th Feby 1879 - Sailed from London this voyage & had a fairly successful trip & arrived back in London on the 4th June 1879. At Gravesend I found my son Alick awaiting my arrival with very painful news for me. A scribbled note from my dying wife to make haste home to see her while she was alive. Arrangements were made by Mr Holt for the ship's business & my son & I travelled all night and got to Keswick early next morning. My wife just recognised me and then gradually sank & died on the 12th July 1879, her death was a great blow to me and with my large family caused much anxiety. I had laid my wife in a grave beside her mother & close to her first baby boy Alfred with a very sad heart but time is a great healing power & association removes the grief - at first I got soured with Keswick and made up my mind to leave the place. I gave up my house & placed my children with a lady (Mrs Geo Mawson) who volunteered to take charge of them. She had been a school fellow of my wife's. I thought it an act of disinterested kindness but found it was not so & I made a mistake as the sequel proved and gave me great anxiety - the 23rd voy of the Ajax was made under Captain Scale while I stayed at home for private affairs.

24th Voyage. Saturday 7th Feby 1880. Made another voyage to China & returned to London June 24th/80. Had only time to make a hurried journey to see my children in Cockermouth & found things not so nice as I would like, had to send my eldest daughter to her aunts in Middlebro as she could not get on with Mrs Mawson. I was much troubled but had to hurry back to London to start on another voyage there.

25th Voyage. Friday July 9th 1880. Started from London on another voyage to China & Japan returned to London 27th Novr. & round to L'pool arriving Decr 8th 1880. Ending 25th Voyage.

Captain Kidd was quick to realise that by marrying his childrens' governess his and their problems would be solved. This marriage was to prove a happy

one.

After arranging the ships affairs I went to Cockermouth to be with my children & found things not so pleasant as I would like. My children being scattered and no home for myself I felt very miserable indeed so began to think seriously of trying to establish another home. I observed Lizzie Bowerbank who was Governess with Mrs Mawson and very kind to the children. A happy thought struck me, if I could only win her for a wife she would make me and the children very happy. I made proposals & and she being very young felt diffident about taking such a responsibility but as she was leaving Mawsons, she would look after my new house & children.

So under these arrangements I left and made the 26th voyage to China. On the Voyage I received several nice letters detailing matters connected with furnishing and on my return I found all very nice & comfortable. I felt very grateful and if it was only respect & esteem I had for her before, I felt it had grown into a sincere love and made up my mind to try again to get her for my wife. After some persuasion she consented to be my Darling & make me happy. So I started another voyage with an easy and contented mind & we agreed to marry on my return.

27th Voyage Thursday June 23rd 1881. Made another nice voyage to China & returned to London on 13th Octr 1881 and hastened down to L'pool to meet my betrothed wife. And we were married, Blessed & made happy on the 18th Octr 1881. And ever since I feel certain I have gained a good wife. We love each other dearly and are devotedly attached. I adore her and she is respected and loved by my children & I have a contented mind and a happy Home managed with good sense & tact by a dear wife. She says I have taught her to love me dearly. My own Lizzie, it will be my aim to love nourish & cherish you according to the solemn vow made at God's altar when we were made man & wife & with God's Blessing we will be very happy My Wiffie.

28th Voyage. Saturday Novr 10th 1881. We started from London this voy taking my young wife with me and we were very happy on the voyage even although my wife was a bad Sailor and not well all the voyage but at Ports on shore she enjoyed the trip, we went to Japan & I let her see all that was to be seen at the various places & she came back a traveller having seen a good deal of the Far East. We arrived back in London on the 5th April 1882 & round to L'pool 17th April 1882.

29th Voyage. Wednesday 17th May 1882. Made another trip to China and returned to London on the 16th Sepr 1882 where my wife met & sailed round to L'pool with me and was a good sailor, we arrd in L'pool 22nd Sepr 1882, the only drawback to our

happiness is the parting but I am thankful for other blessings amongst them the loving wife & happy home to come to.

30th Voyage. Saturday Octr 7th 1882. Off again for China, hurried off this time taking the place of 2 other vessels disabled. Just got home to find I had to leave again. Wiffie and I mutually grieved to have to part again so soon. I returned again to London on the 9th Febr 1883 and found my dear wife waiting for me on arrival to give me a loving welcome home. It was so nice to see her, Bless her dear heart, she loves me dearly and the feeling is mutual. Captn Roberts took the ship round to L'pool so that I had a little longer at home this time but happy moments do fly & I had to be off again. The voyage flies also looking ahead to the pleasure of being again united to those one loves & who are longing to have you back again.

31st Voyage. Thursday March 22nd 1883 commenced another voyage to China. Parting with my wife seems harder each time and my pet seems to feel it acutely, Our letters are about the only soothers during absence being mutually affectionate and full of regard for each other & looking forward to our next Reunion.

On the 2nd of September 1883 Capt Kidd was washed overboard. He was 53 years old.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ARTS OF THE CHINA TRADE

The Oriental Collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside are housed in more than one place. A number of items are on display in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Cheshire, and a few are displayed in the Decorative Arts department of Liverpool Museum, but the majority are in store and have never been put on public display.

In this section a study of the collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, draws upon the themes already outlined in the sections above. For example, one of the collections is the Reed/Thomson Collection given to the Museums after the death of Robert Thomson's daughter in 1950. Such collections are the material evidence of the trade. Because of Liverpool's rise as a significant port in the trade to China during the nineteenth century the collections preserved on Merseyside are predominantly of this period¹. The diversity of objects represents the changing nature not only of the trade itself in the nineteenth century but also of the types of person collecting them.

The term "China Trade" is treated here in the broadest sense. Here items are included which were not specifically manufactured for the export market but which were certainly involved in the dynamics of export and exchange during this period. They are therefore crucial to our understanding of the values of the consumer market. The impact of colonial settlement in the Treaty Ports is one of the changes requiring careful consideration within the trade.

Studying the materials of the trade can give us an insight into the availability of products and into consumer tastes during the successive periods of the trade. In defining the Trade, scholars delineate four successive periods;² the period which chiefly concerns us here is the 1840s to 1880s. However a study of the earlier periods and the types of products being brought home can give us an insight into the changing tastes and mechanisms of the trade, and into how these shifting mechanisms affected

¹ See notes on Liverpool collectors Chapter 4 of this thesis pp.112-114

² Kernan, J.D. *The Chait Collection Of Chinese Export Silver* (New York, 1985). p.15 defines the following periods for the China trade: Early China Trade, before 1785; China Trade, 1785-1840; Late China Trade, 1840-1885; Post China Trade, after 1885.

the products brought back and in due course affected taste at home.

Two early collectors of note and two men of some eminence in their time were Lord Macartney of the 1793 mission and A. E. van Braam Houckgeest. Both men were collecting in China at the end of the eighteenth century and were to return with considerable collections. Although both collections now are dispersed, it is possible through the records of the collections to understand their attitudes towards collecting and understand something of the public response to their collections during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. The impact early collectors were to have on the China Trade during the latter eighteenth century may well be of importance in our consideration of the nineteenth century and this will be examined.

Collecting is an idiosyncratic process governed by the private associations, tastes and inclinations of the individual. The "fetishist" collector demonstrates obsessive collecting of one type of item only. In contrast there exists "structured" collecting, the assembling of items of different types usually with a set objective in mind. However, the China Trade provides us with examples of collecting on more levels than these. There was the basic trade collecting of items to be sold on arrival in Britain; usually such items would have a utilitarian value as well as a decorative one. Then there was souvenir collecting and the accumulation of gifts for distribution to relatives and friends. A third form of collecting more prevalent in the early years of the trade was for didactic purposes; we can see evidence of this in the collection of pictorial material by van Braam and Macartney at the end of the eighteenth century. Nineteenth-century missionaries also displayed collections of simple objects associated with the life of the working people of China.

Behind all these, one is conscious of the complex social apparatus of giving and receiving, itself subject to the tyranny of fashion. In the nineteenth century in particular we can envisage households, especially those where there was a connection with maritime trade, stocked with furnishings of exotic manufacture on which reposed a garnish of strange and curious accessories most of which bore sentimental associations for the possessors and recipients.

The museums and galleries of Merseyside contain examples which fit into all these categories, including items which by their material nature are ensured a degree of permanence and also those directly associated with the ephemeral aspect of the Trade, for instance the bulk cargoes such as tea. Since the articles on display in a museum tend by definition to be "collectable" they may not always reflect accurately the scope and diversity of trade products.

We should not make the mistake of reading "sentimental" for "personal". A collection is more than the sum total of the objects which comprise it; if it is the result of assiduous assembling of artefacts by an informed connoisseur, a collection can tell us more than the individual objects can. It can help us to trace developments in tastes and modes, in techniques and in life-style. So a collection can acquire greater value as it develops. On the other hand, the breaking up of a great collection which illuminates the taste and focus of an individual collector must be regarded as a retrograde step.

The value of a collection can be expressed in educational or in financial terms and these are by no means incompatible. The obsessive collector can readily switch obsessions using the sale of one collection to finance another. Leverhulme is a good example of such a collector and he was not unique. Dealers like Duveen were also collectors in their own right. The relation of such collectors to the public sector which museums represent is well recorded.

The fact that many China Trade items were acquired for their personal and subjective associations need not cloud our judgment about the China Trade. In effect it serves to reinforce our view of the Trade itself. For trade with China in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was concerned with what must be taken for luxuries. Of course what begins as a luxury can soon appear to be a necessity - tea is a case in point. So we may be justified in looking for evidence in China Trade collections of just such a transition from the luxury category to that of the assumed necessity, a transition which informs current thinking on the subject of "marketing".

Basic to the philosophy of marketing is the principle that where living standards are rising, as they were in nineteenth-century Europe, and a

greater number of people acquire the means to satisfy more than their elementary needs, the attention of the importer or manufacturer shifts from the provision of a product to the creation of a consumer.³

It is likely that China Trade articles like furniture and ceramics were, initially at least, acquired for use. They were relatively cheap and they were considered beautiful. We should not leave out of our consideration the probability that the recipients of these articles were motivated by a degree of aesthetic appreciation. It would be too cynical to suggest that people collected articles solely in order to show them off. While a natural pleasure can be derived from the appreciative comments of others, most people enjoy their possessions for their own sake. Porcelain and silk, to take two common acquisitions from the China Trade, give pleasure to the eye and also to the sense of touch.

An examination of the history of trade with China reveals major differences between the eighteenth and nineteenth-century trading. These differences revolve around the changes which occurred in the Trade itself, the setting up of wealthy households in the Treaty Ports and the changes in fashions and therefore in demands back in Britain. Crossman remarks on later nineteenth-century China Trade furniture.

A series of interior views of the rooms in the Low house at Shanghai in the 1880s shows a great quantity of furniture undoubtedly made by Chinese craftsmen. The very late Empire-style chairs, with their strange proportions and unusual design, are obviously Chinese, while several of the ornate pieces throughout the rooms represent the height of Victorian fashion as interpreted by Chinese furniture makers. The furniture is massive but perfect in proportion for a house on such a grand style. Countless houses owned by westerners who lived in China in the later 19th century must have been filled with furniture of this style. The pure western design of the earlier furniture had given way to heavy Chinese influences, a development which had also occurred in the fields of porcelain, silver and silk, tying all these manufactures into a stylistically related taste.⁴

Three points of interest to the present inquiry emerge in this passage. First,

³ Howard, E. B. *Marketing Made Simple* (London, 1972) p.4.

⁴ Crossman, C. *The China Trade* (London, 1991) p.261.

the later nineteenth century is characterized by a tendency on the part of Chinese craftsmen to combine the faithful copying of Western models with increased attention to Chinese-type decorative features; second, it is clear that a substantial market has arisen in the Treaty Ports for furniture of a massive style which would be in keeping with the types of housing available to Europeans; and third, parallel developments towards a recognisable "Chinese" style to suit Western purchasers can be seen in porcelain, silver and textiles.

An identification of the differences in trading and taste can be aided by the study of a port which was itself a catalyst for many of the changes in the trading process and which also preserves material evidence of Britain's trade with China in its collections at the National Museums and Galleries at Merseyside. The Liverpool Collections have been largely ignored for several reasons: misidentification, lack of display facilities and general lack of interest in nineteenth-century manufacture. More importantly they have been ignored in the context of the port itself which still retains a wealth of unrecorded archival material.

The following questions will need to be approached and, as far as possible, answered. To what extent did the eighteenth-century Trade change with the innovations of the nineteenth century and what were the new factors that brought this about? How did conditions affecting collecting change during this period, and did quality also change? Can we prove that decentralization and democratization of the nineteenth-century China Trade occurred and that the port of Liverpool played an important role in these changes? Can we analyse the nature of Liverpool's contribution by the following means: through the historical records of the trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; through subjective documentation, personal viewpoints and first-hand accounts preserved; and finally through examination of the Merseyside collections themselves?

Early Collectors

Insights into the eighteenth-century trade can be gained from an examination of some of the early collectors. Although their collections are frequently no longer in existence we do have documentation of what they

collected. Important questions concerning the motivation for their collecting must include whether they had preconceptions about the goals of their collecting, whether items were collected on impulse, due perhaps to exposure to the foreign culture, or by commissions, or by chance as gifts or donations. Was their motivation for collecting resale, memorabilia or was it done with an eye to eventual public display?⁵ More importantly, what effect did their collections have on the European and American markets, home tastes and fashions and inadvertently on chinoiserie as an artistic concept? To what extent therefore did they dictate taste in chinoiserie and the form for market productions back in Canton? Can we calculate effect on this level? Did these early collectors prefigure the phases of subsequent developments in chinoiserie ?

A notable early collector is Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest.⁶ A.E. van Braam was born in Holland in 1739 and served with the Dutch navy until 1758. His first trip to China was in the service of the Dutch East India Company. He returned to Holland in 1773 having spent fifteen years in Canton and Macao. But in 1783 he and his family established themselves in America where he purchased a property in South Carolina. Personal loss coupled with financial problems caused him to return to China in 1790, leaving his wife and youngest daughter in Holland. He was to stay there five years and it was at this time that he amassed the Chinese collection and had pictorial records of China made. He served as the second ambassador of the Dutch mission to the court of Qianlong to celebrate the sixtieth year of his reign.

Van Braam was to publish the account of his journey to the Imperial Court.⁷ The popularity of these publications is important in assessing the impact of Asia on Europeans with their thirst at this time for information about the rest of the world. In 1795 van Braam returned to America where he built the "China's Retreat" which was furnished with his Chinese collection.

⁵ A study of the various collections put together in the eighteenth century can enlighten us as to whether certain items were given as gifts by the Chinese to the foreign visitors and what types of items these were. Equally, documentation can record how much was purchased, if anything was, upon an impulse, remembering that the Macartney embassy had banned private trading.

⁶ The writer is grateful to Professor R. Whitfield who directed her to this material.

⁷ The first volume was Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest *Voyage de l'Amassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaise. vers l'Empereur de la Chine. dans années 1794 et 1795: où se trouve la description de plusieurs parties de la Chine inconnue aux Européens.* Philadelphia Two volumes 1792, 1798. Subsequently translated into German and English.

Financial ruin necessitated his having to sell this collection. First he attempted to sell to the French Government and then in Philadelphia. Having failed, he left for England where the collection was put on sale at Christie's in London in February 1799.⁸

Both Macartney and van Braam travelled to China in the late eighteenth century and, as Loehr points out, the return of both Embassies, British and Dutch, was eagerly awaited at home by people anxious to gain an insight into their experiences in the mysterious continent.⁹ The popularity of their various volumes published about their travels to the Court of Qianlong reflects the European reception of their travel accounts. The fact that so many of the members of the Macartney Embassy subsequently published accounts of the journey is further evidence of a public interest. The painter William Alexander who accompanied Macartney on his trip, for many years after his return earned a living from the production of engravings of China, so great must have been the demand. Needless to say, the experiences of these travellers were exceptional, for they journeyed beyond the seaports and imposed boundaries and even came into the presence of the Emperor. Thus they saw things hitherto unseen or at least unreported, and what they returned with was to have enormous consequences on the development of the Western perception of China, and therefore on the subsequent development of chinoiserie.

Nigel Cameron has pointed out that

With the publication of Alexander's sketches and engravings, obviously done from life, the chinoiserie myth of China burst. Suddenly China was seen to be a land of soil and farms, of workaday people of rather chunky aspect and quite solid features. The floating draperies of an elfin land changed to dark blue clothes, coarse and poor in most cases, and the poem of Chinese life was seen very clearly to be Oriental prose.¹⁰

⁸ *A Catalogue of a CAPITAL, AND TRULY VALUABLE ASSEMBLAGE OF CHINESE DRAWINGS, PAINTINGS, Natural and Artificial Curiosities, The Property Of A.E. VAN BRAAM, Esq. Chief of the Direction of the Dutch East India Company at Canton, and Second in the Dutch Embassy to the Court of Peking, in the years 1794 and 1795, of which, Mr. Van Braam will speedily publish an Authentic Account. The Whole of which WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION, BY MR. CHRISTIE, AT HIS GREAT ROOM, PALL MALL, ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY the 15th, 1799 at one o'clock. First Day's Sale, Friday, February the 15th 1799.*

⁹ Loehr, R. 'A.E. van Braam Houckgeest The First American at the Court of China' *The Magazine Antiques* (New York, 1954) p. 184.

¹⁰ Cameron, N. *Barbarians and Mandarins* (Hong Kong, 1989) p.305.

Notably, some of the most exceptional items which came out of the two expeditions were the pictorial material. The appeal of images of China is reflected in William Alexander's engravings. Popular too were exhibitions, and Nathan Dunn's exhibition of his Chinese collection was an attraction at Hyde Park Corner.¹¹ The collection was presented in an oriental-style building where the display of material involved cameo scenes with models of people dressed in appropriate costume and engaged in identifiable activities. There was a level of interpretation available in the form of a guide book; however, the displays appear to have had much more in common with the contemporary Madame Tussaud's than with a traditional museum of the time in that they were a visually orientated display aiming to entertain through the capture of mood and atmosphere rather than to serve a primarily didactic function.

Both van Braam and Macartney had a decisive impact upon the China Trade in that they substituted reality for the fantasy that had been "chinoiserie". The true nature of China began to be revealed to Westerners. Events which followed in the mid nineteenth century, such as the wars and rebellions, no doubt furthered this process. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the character of the Trade began to shift towards the more practical middle-class demands of a public no longer seduced by a false image of the hidden East.

Van Braam's "China's Retreat" is interesting too in that, when he built it, van Braam was trying to recreate the fashion in which he had lived in Canton and Macao, waited on by Chinese servants and with a Malay housekeeper. It gives an insight into the lifestyle that such people enjoyed out in China. Later in the settlements of the Treaty Ports the new inhabitants from Europe surrounded themselves with articles to their own taste and showed a partial assimilation of Chinese art. It is possible that in the earlier years people such as van Braam were surrounded by a similar pastiche of Chinese lifestyle. At the London sale there were one hundred paintings on canvas, glass and ivory in the collection and many were copied from French or English prototypes. Van Braam's attitude was important; he was conscious when he went to China that he was seeing things that people

¹¹ Dunn, Nathan, *Ten Thousand Chinese Things* (London, 1842)

in Europe had never seen and that he was in a position of enlightening them.¹²

The uniqueness of many of the items in van Braam's collection point us towards the fact that he was actually commissioning objects personally when he went out there. In certain respects therefore the uniqueness and quality he returned with could not be paralleled in the later period of the Trade. The paintings, Carpenter says, demonstrate a "knowledge of perspective and Western literal approach which is particularly apparent when the subject matter involves bridges or other architectural subjects."¹³

Lord Macartney had distinguished himself as a diplomat in service to George III of England. In 1792 William Pitt appointed Macartney to lead an Embassy to Peking in the expectation of reaching some kind of trading agreement with Qianlong the Emperor. This was the thirteenth Embassy despatched by a Western government to the Court. Ironically, where the Embassy failed, the Opium Wars forty years later were to succeed and bring about the relaxation of the trading restrictions which the British desired. On the question of opium Macartney was instructed by the Company Board of Control that:

It is beyond doubt that no inconsiderable proportion of the Opium raised within the Indian Territories actually finds its way to China; but if it should be made a positive requisition, or an article of any proposed commercial treaty that none of the drug be sent by us to China, you must accede to it rather than risk any essential benefit by contesting for a liberty in this respect, in which case the sale of our opium in Bengal must be left to take its chance in an open market.¹⁴

By the end of the 18th century Britain and her possessions in India were exporting a wide spectrum of goods to Canton: "Cotton, broadcloth, beaver skins, glass, tin, lead, pepper, cloves, sandalwood and rattans."¹⁵ When the Embassy set out, the participants in the voyage were prohibited from private trading, no doubt an unpopular edict considering the lucrative nature of

¹² Loehr 1954 discusses some of Van Braam's attitudes in his article

¹³ Carpenter, C. H. 'The Chinese collection of A.E. van Braam', *The Magazine Antiques* (New York, February 1974) p. 344.

¹⁴ Singer, A. *The Lion and the Dragon* (London, 1992) p. 116. Henry Dundas, Home Secretary at the time, was a friend of Macartney and also on the Board of Control.

¹⁵ Ibid. 1992, p. 4.

this particular sideline for East India Company merchants.

Many gifts were given to the Embassy members by the Court, ruyi sceptres, silk purses - such as the yellow one given in person by the Qianlong Emperor to the younger Staunton - traditionally hung from the belt by the Chinese.¹⁶ King George was given an elegantly lacquered box inside which were precious stones.¹⁷ There were also gifts made of porcelain. The crew, soldiers and other people involved, who did not journey to Peking but remained on board the ships, were also made gifts by the Court;

I have also caused presents to be forwarded to the Naval Commander and six hundred of his officers and men, although they did not come to Peking, so that they too may share in my all embracing kindness.¹⁸

Silks, porcelain drawings, lanterns and balls of tea were also given. Alexander recalls twenty pairs of chopsticks, and fourteen artificial flowers (hair ornaments) being given to him.

At one point we have an intriguing glimpse of the old chinoiserie imagery when Alexander notes in one of his diary entries a description of the Golden Mountain;

intermingled with evergreen trees of various volumes, contracted in so happy a taste and distributed in such a manner as to give the whole the air of a fairy edifice, suddenly raised on the river by the magic of an enchanter. It has a very extravagant effect and almost realises the extravagant paintings of China fans and screens, which I am now inclined to think have been done from real views and not the fancy of the artist.¹⁹

During the days of the Honourable East India Company, such objects of Chinese manufacture as reached Britain came mainly as by-products of the China Trade as controlled by the East India Company and by the Co-hong at Canton. The recipients of these items in Britain were on the whole well-placed in society and well-connected.

¹⁶ Ibid. 1992, p. 65.

¹⁷ Ibid. 1992, p. 84.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1992, p. 180.

¹⁹ Ibid. 1992, p. 135.

The seventeen-nineties saw travellers returning from the East with first-hand accounts of China and its people. Records such as Alexander's paintings and tangible evidence from the collections of men like van Braam in America and Nathan Dunn in Britain provided people in the West with authentic details of Chinese life and products which went a long way towards dispelling the mythology that had brought about the cult of chinoiserie.

Paintings were personally commissioned on both expeditions in order to record China and the journeys undertaken. Gifts were brought back which were associated with the importance of their donor, mainly the Chinese Court. Personal commissions were returned with, especially in the case of van Braam. In both cases the importance of pictorial material is clear. An analysis of the van Braam collection shows the variety of pictorial records available in the collection and it is known that Alexander's sketches had tremendous impact in Britain.

Interest in the real China rapidly grew. Developments in shipping in the middle of the nineteenth century and the rise of the Treaty Ports meant that a community of craftsmen and artisans grew up in the Treaty Ports who catered for both the temporary European residents of the ports and the seafarers who came ashore looking for goods to buy as souvenirs or as speculations. Thus a new form of Trade goods became available for export to Europe in the nineteenth century.

Treaty Port Culture and its Influence

After the Opium Wars the Treaty Ports were opened to British Colonial residents in isolated communities. Their presence in the ports eventually brought about a merger of artistic traditions in that they placed demands for the production of export art. Indeed we can identify the Treaty Port culture as creating a particular taste. We have evidence from Robert Thomson's letters that the Liverpool merchants travelling to the Far East were now exposed much more than before to these British colonial citizens and participated in their activities.

The nineteenth century was a period of rapid expansion of population,

wealth and industry in Europe, fostering new artistic ideals in its entrepreneurial *nouveau riche* class. In rapidly expanding communities like those of Liverpool and Glasgow, imported labour from Ireland and other Celtic regions gave the cities their peculiar character.²⁰ For example, the dialect of Liverpool, though the city was situated in Lancashire, was not Northern but Midland with a sprinkling of Gaelic words. The architecture of the fashionable areas bore a close resemblance to that of Georgian Dublin. At the same time, new colonial settlements sprang up worldwide and the growth of urban centres in Britain such as Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester with an urban population drawn from outside was paralleled by developments abroad, such as that of the Treaty Ports. In Shanghai, for example, there was, not surprisingly, a large Cantonese immigrant population, for the Cantonese were familiar with the mercantile export trade.

By the beginning of the 1850s the Chinese were importing £11.5 million worth of goods manufactured in Britain and £6 million worth of opium. Their exports consisted mainly of tea and silk and these were increasing. There were over two hundred foreign firms established in Hong Kong, the majority British but some from India. For example the Sassoon family, though originating in Baghdad, came to Hong Kong from Bombay. Admittedly most of these were small businesses which served the needs of the growing expatriate community, but among them were a few big hongts dealing in tea, silk, shipping insurance and miscellaneous goods of Chinese manufacture.²¹

The development of the large urban centres such as Liverpool and the Treaty Ports might be thought to have provided an opportunity for a new social order to be set up. There was no shortage of idealists, but their outlooks were often in conflict and so the society of the new urban centres found itself without clear points of reference. The result was sometimes a reversion to the points of reference favoured by the established society of the time. In the Treaty Ports the new societies had much in common with those in Britain; they were filled with entrepreneurs and divorced from the established social strata. Acquiring personal wealth, the British residents

²⁰ Kitson Clark, G. R. S. *An Expanding Society, Britain 1830-1900* (Cambridge, 1967) p. 10.

²¹ Crisswell, C. N. *The Taipans* OUP (Hong Kong, 1981) p. 97.

began to emulate the established aristocracy and upper classes in Britain, adopting their values, tastes and customs as they were interpreted from a spatial and social distance.

The foreign merchants of Hong Kong and the treaty ports formed a small and intimate community in those early years. Separated by several months from Europe and America and acutely conscious of their position on the fringe of a teeming and hostile empire, they relied very much on their own resources. A distinctive 'treaty port culture' evolved, assisted by the fact that partners and assistants, as well as consular officials and missionaries, were transferred periodically from port to port.²²

"China hands" were now to be found, who prided themselves on their familiarity with the Chinese way of life and some of them chose to stay in the Treaty Ports rather than to return to Britain, where perhaps their status would be diminished.

The hierarchy of government officials and leading taipans created a miniature replica of social life in Britain, the struggle for status being much intensified by the smallness of the expatriate community.²³

The exclusive nature of Treaty Port society is testified to by contemporary journalists and visitors from Britain, who criticized the pomposity of government officials, the arrogance of wealthy merchants who were distant with their subordinates and the ludicrous distinctions invented by senior clerks to distance themselves from their juniors.²⁴ But the British remained a minority within the Treaty Ports themselves. The rapid growth and expansion of population groups led to new demands politically, artistically and socially. Some degree of racial mixing occurred and European culture inevitably began a partial merger with Chinese culture.

Conditions in the Treaty Ports in the early days were held to be unsuitable for wives and families. As a result most of the expatriates either lived a bachelor existence or set up house with a Chinese partner. The descendants of these households in many cases became prominent in the social and

²² Ibid. 1981, p. 102.

²³ Ibid. 1981, p. 104.

²⁴ Ibid. 1981, p. 103.

commercial life of the ports, often beginning their careers as Compradors, for they had the advantage of being bilingual. The influence of the Chinese way of life in the Treaty Ports therefore increased, for many of the Eurasians preferred to pass as Chinese and it is likely that the houses at least of the rich acquired the trappings of wealth along Chinese lines.

After a time, no doubt these objects of desire began to filter through the China Trade to Europe and America as merchants who had made a fortune in the Treaty Ports returned to settle there and, living in style, flaunted the tokens of their affluence. As increased wealth led to increased consumerism at home, so it did in the colonial developments. As always, availability influenced consumerism. The export market now had to fulfil the demands of the colonial population stationed in the Treaty Ports as well as the export population on the other side of the globe. A change took place in the life style of the Treaty Ports expatriates with the advent of steam and the opening of the Suez Canal, which brought improved communications.

The journey from England to Hong Kong was considerably shortened and steamships by this time [1869] were much more reliable. Wives and families could now travel out in safety and comfort to a well-established colony which had largely lost its early reputation for lawlessness and ill health.²⁵

We may assume that houses were acquired or built for these families, which provided employment for Chinese craftsmen as well as servants. A degree of leisure must have led to the women's doing a great deal of shopping for silks, furnishings and decorative items of all kinds. Thus sea captains like Robert Thomson and Alexander Kidd, detained in port for the longer intervals entailed in loading a steamer with its increased cargo capacity, must have visited these homes and admired their contents. We can be sure that room on board could always be found for the private purchases of ships' officers. We may expect that this new taste in artefacts which were distinctive for their Chinese character would spread at home and there is good reason to distinguish the new taste for the Oriental from the earlier pastiche which we refer to as chinoiserie.

The nineteenth century heralded the age of collectors and consequently the growth of facilities for display, whether it be in private museums or public

²⁵ Ibid. 1981, p. 200.

exhibitions. There were the great exhibitions in Europe. Joseph Mayer opened one of the first museums in Liverpool in 1859, The Liverpool Free Library and Museum.²⁶ Public displays of this nature fostered the taste for Oriental articles as the exposure of the public to the Orient spread. Trade increased the availability of Oriental wares of all kinds.

The change from sail to steam and the shortening of the China voyage resulting from the opening of the Suez Canal meant that it was possible for individuals to place orders with ships' officers for goods to be purchased in the Treaty Ports in the reasonable expectation that they would be delivered well within the year. The prospect of early delivery must have meant that the number of private commissions increased.

There is no reason, though, to suppose that this rapid turnover necessarily implied a deterioration in the quality of Chinese goods. If nineteenth-century China Trade items seem to us to be of lower quality than those of the eighteenth century, we may account for this by pointing out that the customers had changed and their demands too. We need not conclude, for example, that the Chinese craftsmen had deteriorated in skill. The democratization of the Trade meant that middle-class clients at home could place orders with confidence and insist on getting what they wanted. The new wealth, fired with new exuberance, ostentation and a cultivated love of the exotic, seized upon the artistic forms of Eastern art with all its associations of elitism. If they wanted different things from those their eighteenth-century "betters" had expected, this reflects their different lifestyle. They bought for themselves and were not conscious of acquiring potential heirlooms. They were becoming accustomed to a consumer society though in a new world of manufactured goods they still viewed hand-made products with traditional respect and interest, as we do today. In fact, what they were looking for was what was identifiably Chinese in style but serviceable in a European context and ultimately expendable.

A similar "new society" was also taking shape in the Treaty Ports. The colonial population was keen to emulate the accustomed social patterns of behaviour, but Treaty Port culture was bound to be different. It had to consume more and more from the native population, for its exposure to

²⁶ Eds. Gibson, M. & Wright, S. M. *Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, 1803-1886* (London, 1988) The Society of Antiquaries of London, p. 67.

China and its people was continual and increasing. Cultures adapt and change, and the merchants now in contact with this new society were exposed to new values and demands. These demands in their turn influenced the tastes of the merchants themselves. A gradual and partial shift of standards took place as a result of circumstance rather than choice.

When one considers that the society which was buying Chinese art was changing, and that its tastes were undergoing such profound alterations, it is little wonder that the products of the nineteenth-century China Trade were so different from those of the preceding century in both quality and design. We can identify within them conflicting stylistic traits which can be partly explained in accordance with this cultural divergence.

We can conclude that Treaty Port culture influenced taste in Britain and the articles being brought back by the Liverpool merchants reflected this. Houses of wealthy shipping families such as Flass in Westmoreland, the home of the Dent family from Hong Kong, were furnished in a style which reflected the Treaty Port house interiors of the time.²⁷ Less wealthy merchants probably attempted the same on a smaller scale. It is this change in preference which is central to the theme of the nineteenth-century China Trade.

It is useful to consider the British ports in the same way as we do the Treaty Ports. Liverpool was certainly one of the most dominant ports during this period and, as has already been pointed out, many of the innovations that shaped that trade during this period came out of Liverpool. For, like the Treaty Ports, Liverpool was a "new" society; its population was mixed and was busily engaged in establishing a social framework which in some respects resembled that of the Chinese Treaty Ports. And inevitably the acquisitive instinct which had enabled the inhabitants to amass wealth led them to choose the best Chinese artefacts available with which to surround themselves and their families. It is from these households that the Merseyside Oriental Collections are largely derived, and they constitute a valuable record of a dynamic period of maritime economic history.

²⁷ Welsh, F. *A History of Hong Kong* (London, 1993) plate opp. p. 256, compares the interior of Government House, Hong Kong in the 1860s and the saloon at Flass.

Chinoiserie in Britain and Occidentalism in China

What had taken ships to China and the Far East in the first place was the promise of spices and tea, luxury goods at first. Eventually these goods became available to people of more humble means. At the same time the very precious items of Chinese art were replaced by new export wares which, however they have ended up, were intended for use. Armorial plates, for instance, were not originally intended merely for decoration.

To some extent chinoiserie can be seen as only one aspect of this revitalizing of European culture. Objects of chinoiserie superficially appear mere slavish imitation of Chinese models, but these objects did not reflect Chinese ideas of artistic form in its entirety. Still the essence of Chinese taste remained a mystery to Europeans. What Europe received was a dilution, almost a pastiche, which was taken by Europe to be Chinese, though the craftsman in China would have thought otherwise. What mattered to the craftsman as to the trader in Oriental goods was that these items were snapped up by people coming off the trading vessels.²⁸

These items therefore continued throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to form the basis of Europeans' interpretation of China. The willow-pattern plate is an obvious example of the fallacy of that interpretation, for it was designed by a European and the design was sent to China to be copied on to Chinese export ceramic decoration. Yet on the basis of such flawed interpretation Europe's relations with the Far East have been, and probably still are, mapped out.

No society interprets a foreign culture and its products entirely without prejudice. It will always interpret through the filter of its own cultural preoccupations. Thus chinoiserie should be seen as the product of this filtering of pure Chinese taste through the mesh of European religious, moral and social preconceptions. As such it is another example of the kind of amalgam which results from contact between cultures and which, in its

²⁸Sweetman examines the Islamic artistic tradition and the Muslim people's influence on the art of the English speaking world. He looks at "orientalism" in the light of Europe's prolonged exposure to the East. Islamic influence had subliminally been absorbed into Western artistic traditions, and even into the classical tradition. Sweetman, John *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (Cambridge, 1988) p. 5.

own way and by pursuing a natural development in an alien soil, can bring about a rebirth of artistic and manufacturing activity.

China's impact pervaded literature, the visual arts and fashion to a large extent during the eighteenth century. In the 1750s Chippendale imported Chinese wallpapers to furnish rooms such as that at Nostell Priory and orientalizing elements were introduced into his furniture of the period. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Steegman notes that the favour of the fashionable world had drifted away from China towards Greece and Albania.²⁹ After this date it survived in Britain in a different form from that which it had manifested before. It was not always "fantastic" in Europe; on occasion it demonstrated great correctness and austerity.³⁰ But even in its most austere form it could not survive the Regency reaction that followed and the severe simplicity that became fashionable. The Royal Pavilion at Brighton was really the closing manifestation of the movements that had gone before.

When we look to products in China being made for the Western market, we can find this new austerity appearing, for example, in pieces of metalwork, and even in furniture. Here once more we note the circumspection and adaptability of the Chinese artists in accommodating to their market, bearing in mind also the differences between mass-produced and commissioned works. It was in export wares of both kinds that the Chinese were to identify the conflicting tastes of their commissioners and patrons. At once we are presented with the essence of the Trade in that it was as fluid and transmutable as the rapidly developing society for which it catered.

The China Trade still exists and, as it developed in the past, so it continues to develop. When we discuss chinoiserie, we run up against the question of what is or is not a true chinoiserie item. Let us first make a distinction between true chinoiserie, which was a Western development, and what might be called Occidentalism, which was a Chinese phenomenon.

Chinese imitation of Western styles in art and manufacture developed in the same way as chinoiserie, by imitation of available models. The

²⁹ Steegman, J. *The Rule of Taste: from George I to George IV* (London, 1968) p. 40.

³⁰ Ibid. 1968, p. 42. Steegman cites the Pagodenburg in Munich as an example of this refinement.

difference was that whereas chinoiserie was seen as a purely decorative trend, Occidentalism for the Chinese was based upon the need to ensure a supply of marketable goods for the West. While the Chinese population at large, as distinct from the population of the Treaty Ports, was unaffected by Occidentalism, in the West chinoiserie as a decorative fashion gradually spread throughout Europe and embraced more than one stratum of society.

It would be wrong to think that Occidentalism involved a degeneration of themes that were meaningful for Europeans into the reproduction of motifs meaningless to the Chinese artist or craftsman. Because there was a constant supply of fresh material for copying, both in pictorial design and in shapes, the Chinese were not short of variety in their models. Up to a point they could and did draw conclusions from these. Examples of European pictorial design in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were most readily available from printed ephemera³¹ and the shapes of ceramic vessels and furniture were derived directly from European models provided specifically for copying. Written evidence exists of porcelain in shapes of European origin being ordered by the Dutch in the early seventeenth century.³²

While it is comparatively easy to draw an anatomy of chinoiserie, it is difficult to point to the features of Occidentalism. The fact that what the West saw as typically Chinese embraced the same broad areas as, for example, the Chinese view of Western art may seem mere coincidence. Another possible reason for this similarity is that human perception remains the same in all cultures so that the exotic and the familiar are all seen in the same set of visual contexts. The probability remains, however, that Occidentalism differed from chinoiserie in that it embraced the whole object from the start whereas chinoiserie was seen as a series of detachable motifs. A number of possibilities follow from these premises.

Perhaps the Chinese took Occidentalism seriously from the start in that they were intent upon producing complete objects for sale in the West. Chinoiserie began as a purely decorative mannerism. Is chinoiserie, then, nothing more than a mannerism, a flight of fancy? Certainly it started in that way but slowly developed from an almost frivolous form of

³¹ Miller, E. *Hand-coloured British Prints* (London, 1987) & M. Rickards, *Collecting Printed Ephemera* Phaidon (Oxford, 1988) *passim*.

³² Impey, O. *Chinoiserie* (London, 1977) p.92.

embellishment into a powerful artistic influence on, for example, the Impressionists, the Aesthetics and Art Deco, as Impey has pointed out in some detail.³³ At the other end of the trade shuttle, Western-style objects were produced for a Western market. Whereas chinoiserie was desired for its Chinese, or supposedly Chinese, features, Western-style objects were expected to reproduce faithfully the models provided. The test of their success in this lies in the fact, abundantly attested, that many objects in museum collections classified as genuinely Western in origin are in fact China Trade items. Chinoiserie was a hybridization created by the West; Occidentalism was not a creation of the Chinese but an economic imposition.

Can we conjecture that the influence of Occidentalism, or Western-style art, on China itself was as an avenue through which Western ideas on subjects beyond art and design eventually penetrated the Celestial Empire? In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there is some evidence, and more may come to light, of a growing need in the Chinese home market for Western-type luxury goods. The extent to which Britain was able to supply this need is less certain. Records exist, however, of an American export trade in molasses, sugar, rum, tobacco, beef, butter, ginseng, and mother-of pearl.³⁴ European export goods included hardware and textiles. Clearly Western tastes in consumer goods were being transmitted, but ideas, though more durable, do not travel so well. The Jesuits had been in China for centuries but the extent of their influence, well-placed though they were, is still uncertain. Certainly the British were more keen for this assimilation to occur than the Chinese, the Imperial controls upon Chinese contact with the West through trade demonstrate this attitude.

During the nineteenth century in particular the Chinese manufactured on a large scale curiosities for export to the West. From the heyday of the Renaissance popes, collecting, especially of antiques, had been in vogue with the rich and influential classes in Europe. There is evidence that after the Industrial Revolution this habit spread to the middle class as the latter gained in prosperity. It is not surprising then that many of the artefacts the China Trade brought to Liverpool consisted of exotic curiosities for which

³³ Ibid. 1977, pp.185-196

³⁴ *Salem, Maritime Salem in the Age of Sail* (Washington DC 1987) US Department of the Interior, p.57.

there was a ready market among the mercantile class. This rise of the middle classes to China Trade consumerism is an important factor in considering the changes in the Trade during this period.

Can we estimate how soon China started exporting and therefore manufacturing articles of little or no utilitarian value but appealing to the collector? Does this account for the large number of such articles available in the nineteenth century? The Chinese were aware of the collectors' market as early as the eighteenth century and collectables were abundant in the nineteenth century. Acquisitions during the nineteenth century from the Liverpool Collections bear this out. But evidence also exists of items of domestic utility being shipped into Britain from China in increased quantity during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In fact, during the second half of the nineteenth century there is a move away from imitation of Western design to a confident presentation of artistic products with a distinctly Chinese theme. In a sense, therefore, the Chinese were "marketing" their products and incidentally educating Western taste.

That the Chinese graphic artists did not adopt the techniques of perspective and shading was not due to ignorance of perception and lack of skill, but rather from the lack of desire to do so; after all, their concept of space was for centuries less literal than the West's and they considered the Western expression of spatial illusion somewhat crude. The fact that in due course Chinese artists did master most of these conventions and techniques, influenced by artists such as Chinnery, suggests that at first they were somewhat disadvantaged because of the shortage of adequate reliable models, for example relying on engravings and miniatures in place of portrait paintings. The development of processes of colour printing might be expected to have brought about an improvement in copying by the Chinese. In reality, this effect was counteracted by the fact that pictorial reproductions deteriorated in quality as they were produced more and more cheaply. This is clear from examination of printed ephemera of the period.

Chinese painted design on porcelain was affected by the new shapes that export to the West demanded. Many of the shapes required - beer jugs, fruit dishes, flat-edged plates, flower vases, teacups, teapots, butter dishes, saucers, salt cellars, milk jugs, candlesticks etc - imposed certain restrictions on

pictorial design, but these were relatively few and the Chinese artist was well able to adapt to them. The new shapes were usually derived from European designs in silver, pewter, stoneware and glass. The decorative motifs remained, in many cases, Chinese and it is these that entered into the "grammar" of European pictorial design.

We associate with chinoiserie a degree of the "fantastic" or fanciful. This was by no means characteristic of Chinese art. Granted that exotic objects and creatures, especially the mythical ones, are bound to strike the foreign eye as fantastic to some extent, it is in fact the physical contexts, the larger objects, on which these derived Chinese motifs eventually appear, e.g. items of furniture and architectural settings, which are more incongruous and less appropriate than the shapes of ceramic vessels demanded by European traders. So the "fantastic" element of chinoiserie might be judged to be largely a European invention.

A good example of the subjugation of an oriental motif to a European one must be the Gordon Bronzes on loan to Liverpool Museum. In these pieces there is practically no trace at all of the Chinese origin apart from the characters on each of the bronzes which read "Gordon".³⁵ However, we must be cautious of assigning motifs to occidental or to oriental influence as if there were no possibility of interchange prior to a certain historical date.

What we see when we look at pieces such as the Gordon Bronzes is surely the ultimate outcome of a long-founded dialogue between East and West. Ironically, then, what we identify as being purely occidental may have oriental elements within it of which the Chinese craftsmen were unaware. This dialogue is further illustrated in many of the oriental artefacts found in the Liverpool collection. Stylistically they draw upon corrupt themes of oriental art which have been transmitted to the West and adapted out of all recognition. An important fact to bear in mind with imported items from the East is that the motifs and mythical origins of the animals involved have largely been lost to the Western eye. Thus the dragons and the other creatures and incidents we see, in stories depicted on lacquer for example, have no identifiable meaning to the West. We may conclude that the consumption of such things was founded purely on aesthetic taste or on an

³⁵ Worrall, E.E. 'The Gordon Bronzes' *Oriental Art* Vol. xxxiv (London, 1988) p. 7.

interest in curiosities and not on their symbolic value.

The architecture of the Yuan Ming Yuan shows us how receptive the Chinese were to Western motifs, particularly in this case to architectural adornment. Of course it is recognised that the presence of the Jesuits in China from the sixteenth century and their employment at the Court is partly responsible for the scale of this synthesis and that, in the same way as the Europeans adapted their tastes to chinoiserie, so too the Orient and especially the court had a debt to the West not only in their art and architecture but in other aspects of their culture too.

The China Trade collection presents us with the counterpart to this. We have already observed that the Chinese craftsmen were willing to cater entirely for European tastes where these could be identified. Some objects, for example classical candlesticks made from paktong,³⁶ draw entirely upon Western motifs, whilst others achieve a synthesis of motif and object, and still others are entirely Chinese in both function and decoration. At the same time the Europeans seem to have consumed Chinese objects for trade which were non-functional to the Europeans, at least on the level of intended use. Examples are the platform shoes, or the silk sections to be made into Chinese robes.³⁷

Where the motif of the design on an article of Western origin is Christian what was the basis of the depiction? We are led to assume that the Chinese artists used pictorial material as a model. One of the main reasons for this conclusion is the set of Rouge de Fer plates depicting Christ and the Baptism. Each of these is individually painted and in every one the naivety of the artist in relation to the theme is manifest in their distortion and caricature-like aspect. The common source of these must have been a sketch or a painted plate. Similarly when we look at the classical entablature on the candlestick we see crudity in the carving. As we know the Chinese were adept copiers, we can only assume that this is due either to the mass production of the piece, or to the inadequacy of the pictorial material being copied. These were cheap mass-produced objects where high quality was

³⁶ Paktong is a copper, nickel and zinc alloy. We know that paktong items were manufactured in European form in China and sold to the West; these must not be confused with items made out of nickel silver, a very similar alloy, which were made in Europe

³⁷ Dragon robes may well have been used by some Europeans as dressing gowns Wilson, V. *Chinese Dress* (London, 1986) p.12.

secondary to marketability. There is sometimes said to have been a fall in general quality in the nineteenth century.³⁸ Another way of putting this is to say that in the nineteenth century an additional market opened for cheap and low quality goods from China.

An example of the way in which Western art influenced the Chinese production of export items can be found in the use of models, the often painstaking process of copying Western designs which were in popular demand especially in furniture and domestic items. One instance is that of Napoleon's tomb and house on St. Helena. This subject is represented on an ivory card box in the Dorothy Worrall Collection at Liverpool Museum. Another depiction of this exact subject matter is found on a number of mother-of-pearl counters in a private collection. And thirdly, in the *Oriental Art Gallery Catalogue* 1992 a similar picture shows again the use of this particular model.³⁹ It is clear therefore that bulk orders were made of subjects with popularity reflecting initially contemporary or recent events.⁴⁰

However, once the popularity of a particular motif had shown itself, probably these models themselves were reproduced and imitated in later years. The initial date therefore of the Napoleonic design could be contemporary with the end of the Napoleonic Wars but this kind of examination can give us only limited guidelines for dating objects.

An example of copying of a different type is the Chippendale-style desk in the Dorothy Worrall Collection, Liverpool Museum, closely resembling one illustrated by Crossman.⁴¹ There is another desk exactly like this in a private collection in London. They all derive from a Chippendale design of 1754. Clearly either the pattern itself or a desk to copy was taken out.

Another example of copying provides evidence of classical influence, reflected of course from Europe itself. Characteristic is the attempt of the Chinese metalworker to copy Corinthian capitals, for instance, on

³⁸ The fall in quality between eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century pieces can only be cited in some instances. In other cases quality is very high in both centuries.

³⁹ *Oriental Art Gallery Catalogue* (London, 1992) pl.158.

⁴⁰ The theme of Napoleon's tomb occurs with great frequency on a wide variety of China Trade objects. Since the market for this motif seemed assured, there was a strong inducement to reproduce it on a mass scale.

⁴¹ Crossman, 1991 p. 230.

candlesticks and cutlery, with hallmarks also copied. But further copying and imitation led to a debasement of motif and later examples can be found in which the technique is inferior.⁴² The replication of compositions through copying is characteristic of China Trade paintings and the copying of Western objects is a continuation and extension of this process.

⁴² This debasement of classical forms was also to be found in European art and we cannot entirely rule out the possibility of poor quality models being presented to the Chinese craftsman.

PART TWO: THE NMGM COLLECTIONS

CHAPTER FOUR: INTRODUCTION

The Chinese collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside represent the acquisitions of significant collectors, dating from the Joseph Mayer¹ collection in the middle of the nineteenth century. The collections are unusual in this country because of their strong local provenance, many of the collectors having a personal involvement in the China Trade from Liverpool.

In Part One we have examined the ways in which changes in the structure of the China Trade and the technology available to traders brought about modifications in the mechanics of the trade. In Part Two we shall see how these changed external conditions and internal social change contributed to a shift in the varietal range and quantities of goods exported from China to Liverpool. This chapter will examine the Collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside as a whole, deal with the relevance of provenance and also include an analysis of the China Trade holdings on the lines of classification established below.

Classification by Type and Function

The Merseyside Oriental holdings are extensive and distributed in various places. The existence of this body of artefacts necessitates classification for descriptive purposes. Any system of classification we establish must illustrate the shifts of patronage which occurred in the nineteenth-century China Trade and the effects these had on the manufacture and nature of objects designed for export.

Traditional museum classification depends on the material from which an object is constructed and upon its geographical origin. Here we are concerned with artefacts coming from one region and constructed from a range of materials. To classify on the basis of material alone would fail to take account of interrelation between, for example, metalwork and ceramic utensils, glass and canvas paintings and wooden and ceramic furniture. We shall therefore classify the objects under Type, and under Function, which

¹ See *Liverpool Nineteenth-century Collectors* later in this Chapter.

takes account of current ideas about artefacts.² To keep the classification as simple as possible we must define our categories rigorously.

Classification by Type

Paintings: objects which are two-dimensional in form and are depictions either of real persons and objects or of typical scenes and representative personages. Paintings from the China Trade make use of a variety of media from glass through various kinds of paper to canvas. This type has been chosen for separate consideration, Chapter Five, because the Merseyside holdings contain a good representative spread from the eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries. This will enable us to examine shifts in patronage in the nineteenth century by comparing changes in demand and developments in style during the period being studied.

Furniture: large objects in daily use which are usually kept in one place whether in use or not. They are usually made of wood, lacquer or bamboo and associated with some physical activity or posture such as sitting, writing, sleeping or eating but are not regarded solely as decorative in nature. Items classifiable under Furniture will be largely utility items from the point of view of Function. This type has been singled out for separate consideration because the items in it demonstrate clearly the transfer of techniques and styles between Chinese and Europeans. The chapter on Furniture, Chapter Six, will attempt to redefine "trade" items by examining the growth of new communities, the influence of the presence of itinerant craftsmen in the Treaty Ports, improved communication and greater freedom of population movement as factors influencing the quantity and quality of furniture manufacture.

Ornaments and accessories: items which are regarded by the holder as purely or largely decorative. Some significance, however, may attach to them as personal memorabilia or keepsakes. This type will also include clothing items which are often made of precious fabrics such as silk. These, as we shall see, were not regarded as keepsakes but were intended to be worn

² See, for example, Renfrew, C. *Archaeology and Language* (London 1987). Renfrew discusses the early view that equated a culture, i.e. an assembly of artefacts, with ethnicity, in contrast to the processual approach which emphasises the interplay of social and economic factors between communities. pp.215-7.

by the recipients. Under this head it seems appropriate to include small quantities of silk fabric and similar material of Chinese origin which was intended to be made into European-style dress. It is convenient in the interests of limiting the possible types to include such items as games and gaming pieces under this heading. The chapter on Ornaments, Chapter Seven, will look at consumerism in Britain and China through the collections of ornaments represented in the Merseyside holdings. The items under this heading are so numerous and varied that an approach has been chosen through the collectors of the pieces. By identifying distinct kinds of collecting we intend to cast light upon the motives behind a given collection and the nature of items selected. Information about provenance illuminates a new kind of consumerism arising often through regular trading contact with expatriates and other residents in the Treaty Ports.

Our classification is designed to bring to light the nature of nineteenth-century patronage of export art. Therefore the above classification by Type is clarified by classification by Function as follows. This classification identifies the primary Function as the defining one.

Classification by Function

Utility: this function covers the physical use of objects, even if this period of use is of short duration.

Keepsake: this second function covers a large number of items brought back from China by a friend or close relative and treasured not for their intrinsic value but as memorabilia. Such items are abundant in the Merseyside collections because of the local provenance of the majority of China Trade objects held in the Museum.³

Decoration: this third function covers items of a decorative nature. Such objects were regarded by the Victorian middle class as essential furnishing and may include paintings of a general nature, as distinct from portraits, and small knick-knacks housed in glass cabinets.

Furniture is principally classifiable under the function of Utility, though it

³ Discussed below, pp.112 ff.

can also be a Keepsake. Paintings, in the form of China Trade export paintings, were usually acquired as Keepsakes, though they were also Decoration. Ornaments, which include many items regarded by the Chinese as Utility objects, are principally classified as Decoration, though they clearly had a value for their original owners as Keepsakes.

There is evidence from collections such as those at Merseyside that items in all these categories were included in the nineteenth-century China Trade. A museum collection cannot be expected to be wholly representative in this matter, since Utility items, for instance, are also subject to wear and tear and may degenerate to a point where they are no longer considered collectable. This is where additional evidence from documentation is of service.

Factors affecting classification by Type

Classification under the heading of Type is intended to cut across more detailed systems which depend largely upon the form of objects. Here we are discussing Trade goods and an important problem in shipping such goods involves questions of storage and handling. For instance it is clear that Chinese furniture can be made in such a way that it is easy to handle and so that its storage may not take up more valuable space than is necessary.⁴ On the other hand, ornaments may take up minimal space, though they inevitably require careful and minimal handling. Paintings may well be easier to transport, though framed paintings and glass paintings may need to be packed very carefully.

Since articles of furniture, even when disassembled, tended to be bulky, the number of individual items of this kind imported would probably be small. On the other hand, curiosities and ornaments, being easy to transport, would be numerous. This is what we find when we examine the numbers of each type of item in the Merseyside collections.

It is true that a utility item may cease to be used and come to be regarded as decoration. An item of clothing too can sometimes be treated as decoration when the person for whom it was bought no longer wears it. But there is

⁴ Professor R Whitfield has pointed out that traditional Chinese furniture is normally made for disassembling. This does not apply to some of the furniture in the NMGM collections which were constructed to European designs.

usually no difficulty in identifying, for example, an article of furniture as a utility item and it is likely to continue to be used during its lifetime. The purpose here is to shed light, wherever possible, on the nature of the China Trade through Liverpool in the nineteenth century and to highlight such changes in the trade as took place in the period under consideration. This will be seen to involve new aspects of consumerism as the rising middle class asserted its own demands.

Expatriate communities are often ingenious in transferring local products to a specialized use related to their own needs. The popularity of such items in a flourishing expatriate community in its turn affects the temporary visitor and thus influences trade with the overseas market. The influence of the expatriate community on shipping agents and ships' captains may have been considerable, especially when the change from sail to steam afforded ships' captains more time in port.

Collections and collecting

Now let us look at the possibility of regarding an existing collection as a guide to the nature of the trade. What kind of conclusions can we draw from an existing collection about the trading practices which brought it into being? Can we consider the quantities represented in a collection as proportionate to the popularity of the items with traders and subsequently with purchasers and collectors of the time?

We should be wise not to draw conclusions about collectors themselves from the data. First, collections are subjective, the items may have passed through many hands and been in the possession of many collectors before becoming part of the Merseyside collections. Second, people are prone to collect in different and sometimes irrational ways. Third, the manner by which items enter the Museum was sometimes erratic, often being based upon internal organizational considerations within the Museum itself. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the new middle class of Liverpool took up collecting with enthusiasm and it is likely that their agents in China quickly identified this as a lucrative market, seeking out limited amounts of selected articles for export.

The value of the Reed/Thomson collection is that we know that it comes straight from its primary source. The value of the Merseyside China Trade Collection as a whole is that we know it to be predominantly local, and that the huge variety of the material which comprises it is representative, in types if not in relative quantities, of the material coming through the port especially during the nineteenth century. The order books of the Jardine Matheson archive, relating to a parallel range of items imported for the most part through the port of London, confirm these trends.

The conditions that govern an object's presence in the Merseyside collections - whether it be through gift, purchase, or by virtue of curatorial choice - can all be left out of this examination. War loss however, accounting for missing items, has to be borne in mind, for it must have depleted the oriental collections.⁵ We cannot therefore discriminate between items or between classificatory types on the grounds that the distribution of any one is free from the element of chance. For this reason the information about the purchase of goods contained in the official documentation of the period must be used wherever possible in order to supplement the evidence of the existing collection.

The information to be drawn from the details of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside's collections and from the objective and subjective written evidence in the archives has to be seen in the context of a China Trade dependent upon the demands of the export market. We shall discuss the nature of this demand and its possible effects on supply at the other end of trade shuttle.

The following diagrams illustrate the general distribution of China Trade articles in the Museums and Galleries on Merseyside.

⁵ The Liverpool Museum was seriously damaged by incendiary bombs in 1941 and a major part of the collections was lost. The Museum remained closed until after the war.

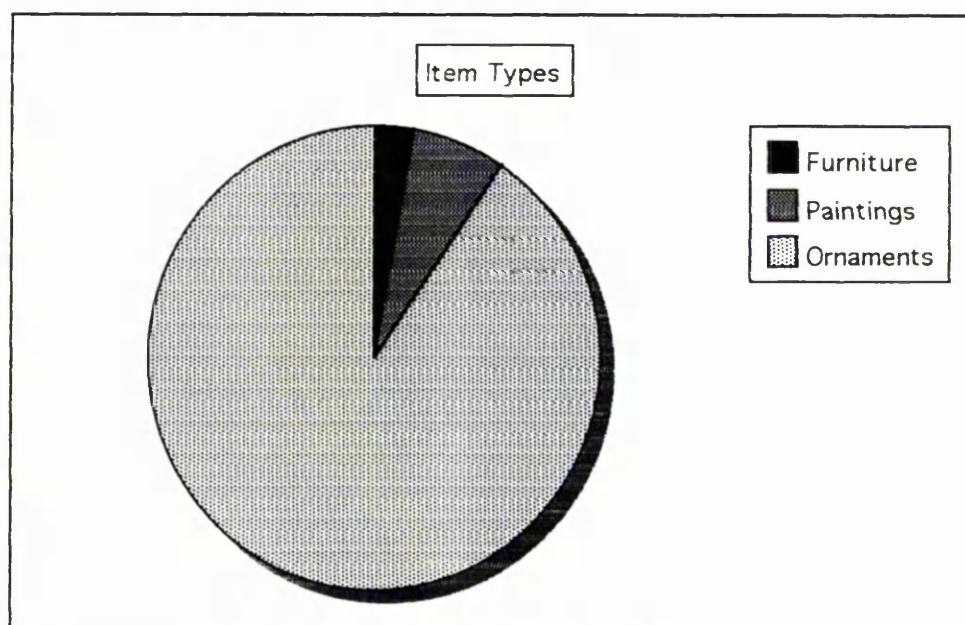
Figure One: Distribution of Classes of artefact.

Key to Upper Diagram indicating Relation of Types to Functions below:

Black - primary class; Shaded - possible secondary class; White - unclassified.

The Lower Diagram shows distribution of Types.

	Utility	Keepsake	Decoration	Functions
Types				
Furniture	Black	Shaded	White	
Paintings	White	Black	Shaded	
Ornaments	Shaded	Black	Black	



A survey of the Merseyside China Trade holdings reveals that items of furniture account for 2.7% of the total; paintings account for 6.7%, while the largest category by far is that of small ornamental items, which accounts for 90.5%. While this serves to clarify the quantities of individual objects preserved in the collection, it in no way helps us to define exactly what quantities were coming into the port of Liverpool during the nineteenth century. Only the cargo listings and shipping statistics can do that and the frequent class of "miscellaneous" goods makes it difficult even to estimate the facts. The collection does, however, record the objects that have been preserved, some of which would have been kept because they were treasured as heirlooms while others would have owed their preservation to chance.

There are three main reasons why the ornament section should constitute the major part of the Merseyside holdings. First, this section contains items which will have been treated with care by their owners and will not have been subjected to the wear and tear which comes from use. Second, they were more easily transported on ship than items in the other two sections. Third, by their very nature they consisted of a high proportion of items which would have been, and still are, regarded as collectable and are therefore likely to come into the possession of a museum.

Liverpool nineteenth-century collectors

What makes Liverpool and its collections an important area of study for the nineteenth-century trade is the wealth of locally provenanced China trade collections preserved in the Museums. Two collections stand out, that of Thomson⁶ and that of Mayer. Both cast important light on the theme of collecting because one demonstrates collecting in the city by a member of the mercantile community and the other by a China Trader engaged on the trade and buying in China.

These collections illustrate the distinction between two applications of the term "collecting". The collections of men like Mayer were chosen with the benefit of the advice of dealers who were generally concerned with

⁶ Refer to Chapter 2 for details of the Thomson letters.

contemporary fashions in collecting and who were unlikely at any given time to consider contemporary products in the light of collectables. Therefore, a collection of this kind is always retrospective. We know that at the time when Mayer was collecting very little was known about dating artefacts from the Far East. Mayer's concerns, however, were with the objects as antiques. Thomson, in contrast, was acquiring artefacts in the Treaty Ports and buying from contemporary producers and retailers of souvenirs and curiosities. Fashion and availability dictated his choice to a great extent, but the fashion he followed was that set by compatriots residing at his ports of call. Therefore a collection like Thomson's is likely to reflect more exactly what was being produced in the Treaty Ports at that time.

Mayer Collection ⁷

Joseph Mayer was a distinguished member of Liverpool society and the founder of the original Museum which was to metamorphose into the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyide. His collection included China trade objects. Once again the term "trade" is used to cover a spectrum of objects that encompass commercial speculation and collectability in the West. We know a little of how Mayer collected from correspondence with Augustus Franks⁸ and related papers.

Thomson Collection ⁹

Thomson is important not only for his collection but also for the documentation he records including the letters which were given to the Museum as part of a larger China Trade collection the Read/Thomson collection. A few of the items are directly mentioned in his letters. Due to the diversity of objects this collection has been spread throughout the Museum collections losing its identity and several of the items have not been traced. There is uncertainty with the unlocated material as to whether it is China Trade or of another origin, but it has still been listed. The items

⁷ For full list of Chinese holdings see Appendix 2

⁸ Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), antiquary and keeper of the department of British & Medieval Antiquities of the British Museum, presented to the British Museum his collection of eastern ceramics & other works of art, KCB 1894, Hon. Litt.D. Cambridge 1889 & DCL Oxford 1895, FRS 1874; published work chiefly on ceramics. *Concise Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1903). ¹

⁹ For full list see Appendix 2

allow approximate dating to the period of Thomson's participation in trade to the Far East.

Holt Collection ¹⁰

The Holt collection was acquired by the shipping family of that name descended from or related to Alfred Holt¹¹ founder of the Ocean Steam Ship Company, later the Blue Funnel Line, whose father George Holt senior who had been active among Liverpool merchants in the agitation for the withdrawal of the East India Company's monopoly of trade with India and the Far East. In celebration of this event George Holt built the India Building, one of the most imposing edifices in the business centre of the city, which became the headquarters of the Blue Funnel Line.¹²

Larrinaga Collection ¹³

The Larrinaga collection was accumulated by the family of de Larrinaga of the Liverpool-based Larrinaga Steamship Company Limited, formerly the firm of Olano, Larrinaga and Company, which took delivery of its first vessel, an iron barque, in 1863. One of the co-founders was Ramon de Larrinaga, of Basque origin and descended from a line of Bilbao master mariners. When the Suez Canal was nearing completion the company had the foresight to venture into steam and this venture proved successful. Heavy losses in shipping were suffered during both World Wars but in 1974 the company was recorded as still possessing a fleet of cargo vessels engaged in worldwide trading.¹⁴

In the following chapters of the thesis we shall look at the articles in Merseyside's major collection of China Trade art and try to reconstruct some of the factors which made them appeal to Western buyers, in other words, what our nineteenth-century ancestors saw in them. In order to do this we shall employ the classification described above, which appears to meet our needs.

¹⁰ For full list see Appendix 2

¹¹ Refer to Chapter 2 for details of Alfred Holt.

¹² Hawes 1986 pp 11-12

¹³ For full list see Appendix 2

¹⁴ Chandler 1960 pp 99-100 and Jordan, R. W. 'Larrinaga's of Liverpool' *Sea Breezes* v.48 (Liverpool, January 1974) pp. 81-94

Discussion of the nineteenth-century collections at Liverpool gives us an idea of the range of artefacts preserved in a nineteenth-century outport. Bulk cargoes we cannot expect to find preserved, since tea was consumed and silk in bulk was diverted to the production of clothing. Such clothing as we retain contains items of silk but it is impossible to discover how these originated. The artefacts remain for our contemplation and it is those we shall discuss.

CHAPTER FIVE: CHINA TRADE PAINTINGS

This chapter¹ will examine the China Trade paintings in the collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside in order to illustrate the changes in product and demand after 1834. The China Trade paintings in the National Museums and Galleries collections fall into various categories: these include glass paintings; oil paintings on canvas, including those of ships; pith paintings; and paintings on silk. The pith and silk paintings preserve for us yet another insight into nineteenth-century life in China, here seen through the eyes of the Chinese and adapted only partially to English taste and demand. The demand for pictorial material seems to have been part of the China Trade from its very beginning. The Chinese paintings in the collection can be taken as one body of such material. They represent an adaptation of Western and Chinese artistic techniques and composition.

Bills of entry show paintings coming directly into Liverpool in the middle of the nineteenth century. One entry on 1st November 1854 for the clipper ship "Celestial" from Canton to Liverpool records among other items a private order for the master J. Raymar of one case of China paintings.²

Some idea of contemporary views on Chinese art may be gained from the lectures of John Ruskin. On colour Ruskin has this to say:

Everybody could colour in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but we were ruled and legalized into grey in the fifteenth . . . and nobody can colour anywhere, except the Hindoos and Chinese.³

. . . the failure of colour-perception is partly noble, partly base; noble, in its earnestness, which raises the design of Greek vases as far above the designing of mere colourist nations like the Chinese, as men's thoughts are above children's; and yet it is partly base and earthly; . . . On the other hand, the pure colour-gift, when employed for pleasure only, degrades in another direction; so that among the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, all intellectual progress in art has been for ages rendered impossible by the prevalence of that faculty; and yet it is, as I have said again and again, the spiritual power of art; and its true

¹ The author is grateful to Tony Tibbles, Merseyside Maritime Museum, for his cooperation in gaining access to the export painting collection.

² Liverpool bills of entry 1854, Maritime Museum.

³ Ruskin J. *Modern Painters* Pt IV Chapter VII, first published 1843, popular edition (London, 1906) p95.

brightness is the essential characteristic of all healthy schools.⁴

It would appear from the above that Ruskin's only experience of Chinese art was through export paintings and ceramics. Like the Liverpool collector Bowes, Ruskin misinterprets export art as domestic art.

Glass Paintings

Part of the collection consists of a number of reverse-glass paintings. The technique of reverse-glass painting is reputed to have been introduced into China from Europe by the Jesuit missionaries, though some scholars believe otherwise. The production of these paintings in China was primarily for the export market in Europe. The paintings proved so popular with foreign buyers that the Chinese found themselves unable to manufacture plate glass in sufficient quantities to satisfy their market in Europe. The glass associated with reverse-glass painting in China is traditionally believed to have originated in Europe. There is evidence to support this belief that the Chinese were not capable of making plate glass in sufficient quantities to satisfy market demands: Peter Osbek, writing in 1751, is reported to mention the existence of a glass house in Canton.⁵ Osbek states that, although importation from Europe was forbidden, the European traders brought glass with them for the Chinese artists to execute their designs upon.

The glass exported from Britain is traditionally described as "Vauxhall Glass" a term held to imply high quality. Although it is known that high quality glass was manufactured in Vauxhall, such nomenclature is not always an indication of its true place of origin. The term can be applied to glass of old appearance without a place of specific origin being proved. ⁶ By 1696 there were about ninety glass houses in England and Wales, just under thirty being in London. ⁷

Vauxhall was the location of a notable glass house founded in 1615,⁸ but

⁴ Ruskin, J. *The Queen of the Air : being a study of the Greek myths of cloud and storm* Section 94 note (London, 1869).

⁴ Wills, G. *English Looking-glasses; A study of the glass, frames and makers (1670-1820)* [London, 1965]. Appendix 2 p. 136.

⁵ *Ibid.* p47.

⁷ McGrath, R. & Frost, A. C. *Glass in Architecture and Decoration* (London, 1937) p.21.

⁸ *Ibid.* p20.

the Continent was the source of the skills required in its manufacture. In 1695, during William III's reign, a duty was imposed upon glass,⁹ but the manufacture of "Vauxhall" glass continued long after this. There were two methods of manufacture, "casting", which was not used in England until 1773,¹⁰ and the "broad" process, in use until the mid-1770s. The "broad" process was generally used in England and English manufacturers did not try to compete with the larger plate glass produced on the Continent.

It was during the reign of George III, in January 1773, that Parliamentary records¹¹ show concern for the state of manufacture in Britain in the face of competition from the Continent. During this period records show that much of the glass going to the East Indies and elsewhere was coming not from England but from the Continent, for example from France.¹²

The Chinese preferred to use mirror glass because they felt its thickness enhanced the intensity of the colours.¹³ Many paintings make use of the mirrored surface for realistic effects such as the depiction of sky or water. Of interest here is the apparently wide use of European models in the production of the paintings. This factor becomes increasingly evident with an examination of the group figure subjects, which show the influence of Claude and Boucher for example. The compositional formats were dictated by the fashions and tastes of the market in Europe and as a result many of these paintings show a synthesis of European and Chinese styles.

A further source of inspiration was provided by European miniatures. It is reasonable to suppose that from the eighteenth century onward such miniatures were available to Chinese artists and that, in addition to engravings, these might be the models on which the Chinese reverse-glass painters based their work for export.

Western stylistic traits are instantly recognizable in the earlier glass paintings. Echoes of the Claudian landscapes of the seventeenth century appear in their compositional layout exploiting the vista created between

⁹ Wills 1965 p.44.

¹⁰ In 1773 a company was founded in Ravenshead, St. Helens, McGraff & Frost 1937 p22

¹¹ Wills 1965 p.129.

¹² Ibid. p.132.

¹³ Jenyns, R. Soame & Watson, W. *Minor Arts of China* (London, 1965). Chapter 11 p.100.

foreground objects such as trees at either side with a receding landscape in between. Often this receding vista employs a meandering river or a lake to achieve the illusion of space. Visual references to Boucher and Watteau can also be found in the disposition of figures and their deployment in the spatial context of the picture plane. This can be demonstrated by the frequently rigid compositional structure and the figures' interaction with one another.

The glass paintings in the Merseyside collections came from a variety of sources, mainly purchased through dealers in London; three of them showing domestic scenes came from the collection of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, though no record of their purchase by his family exists.¹⁴ The informality of these paintings and softness of their colours is in contrast to the stronger colours and sharper delineation of many of the other paintings in the gallery, paralleling Chinese genre export paintings of the period. The painted sheets of plate glass were exported complete with ready-made frames such as we see still in the gallery on many of the paintings. The frames served a practical function in protecting the paintings during transportation. In many cases, for example the glass paintings at Saltram House, Devon, the frames were removed and replaced by heavily gilded rococo frames, often of a Chippendale design.

As the taste for Chinoiserie grew in Europe so the demand for paintings of this kind escalated. However, by the turn of the century and into the earliest decades of the eighteenth century, we see a change in the production of paintings which is marked by the advent of canvas, the use of which was adopted from Europe. The Chinese were capable of manufacturing their own finely wefted canvas and by using oils produced paintings which were more easily transported to Europe. The transfer to canvas meant, of course, a quicker process than reverse painting had been, with the increased efficiency of production of the canvas in China and the advantage of quicker transportation. The canvas could be rolled and was more resilient than the glass. Larger quantities could be produced, and the Chinese product was distinctive by the thinner weave of the canvas. However, the canvas, like the glass paintings, often travelled in their original Chinese frames many of which have been retained until today.

¹⁴ Personal communication Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

Portraits

Human portraiture presents us with a complex set of styles which should be approached from the stance of what the patron wanted from the image. Personal record has to be set against opposing requirements. The term "portraiture" encompasses a broad sweep of paintings depicting the facial features of a named or unidentified individual. We know in the case of the glass paintings that portraits of individuals were copied from original European engravings for example the painting of George IV or even from miniatures or, arguably, living sitters. The painting by Spoilum of the seaman may have been painted from life or copied from a miniature presented for the Chinese artist. Either way the source of the image is to copy from the reality of the facial features, idealized perhaps in some cases but still with a degree of anatomical accuracy. These therefore encompass personality too, loaded with subtle iconography through the use of the background or the stance of the figure; all too, in a wider sense, conforming to the fashion of the time.

Personal record was important in the eighteenth century as equally it was in the nineteenth. However, in the nineteenth the portrait sought to fulfil the same role for a new type of patron. To be recorded in pictorial form was bound up with aspiration and to some extent reflected emulation of a class who had long had the privilege of being portrayed thus. The new pragmatically-minded entrepreneurs needed their images to bequeath to posterity as much as they needed the portraits of their vessels. At the same time they required a fully representational image in terms which they understood. In the second half of the nineteenth the daguerreotype was to fulfil this requirement absolutely.

Glass painted portraits

Among those collectors who made important contributions to the present holdings in the Merseyside collection was William Hesketh Lever, Lord Leverhulme, (1851-1925) who left the nation one of the finest collections of British art in the country, housed today, as he originally intended, in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Merseyside. Among the furniture,

paintings and ceramics in his collection are a fine collection of Chinese ceramics and works of art mainly reflecting export tastes and markets. It is interesting that a man so concerned with advocating the merits of British production, even early on in his collecting career, was drawn to Chinese ceramics. Towards the end of his life he purchased established collections which included the major body of the pieces we see in his collection today.

The portrait in the Lady Lever Art Gallery depicting H.R.H. George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, later George IV, must be considered an exceptional piece [Plate 5]¹⁵. The painting has been taken from a portrait by a British artist, E. Scott. The portrait is known to have been presented to the Prince by his fellow mason William Foresteen to hang in the Pavilion in Brighton.

Two inscriptions are preserved on the reverse of the painting. One reads:

This portrait of his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free Masons, was sent to William Foresteen Esqr. by his much esteemed Brother and Friend Edmund Larken Esqr. of the Shakespeare Lodge, No.131, Inspector of Teas for the Honble. the E. I. Company at Canton, with the earnest request that it should be humbly and respectfully presented from him to His Royal Highness, as a specimen of Chinese painting.

In addition printed information on the back of the picture records that the painting remained,

in the Pavilion at Brighton for many years during the period that the Georges occupied it. When they ceased to use the Pavilion as a Royal Residence, Princess Charlotte gave the picture to Miss Frances Lovatt.

Additionally it reads,

This portrait was presented by Her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte to Miss Frances Lovatt, 1817.

The Prince is seen seated in his Masonic regalia, hands resting on the arms

¹⁵ Portrait of George IV reverse-painted on glass by "Far Qua", 18th century, 53.5 x 38.5 cm. [X 8823, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight]

of the chair, his head turned in three-quarter profile, his eyes looking out at the onlooker. The proportions of the body and the technique of foreshortening have not been mastered by the Chinese artist¹⁶ and yet the face shows a subtlety in its handling of the Western features and a delicate use of modelling. The arts of perspective and shading were Westernizing elements imported from Europe, yet in many early examples of Chinese portrait art for the West a disproportion and flatness are apparent in the figures despite a sensitivity in handling the features.

The artist responsible for the painting is recorded to be "Farqua" of Canton, but whether the artist's studio took a participative part in the painting's production is not known. There is no artist working in Canton during this period recorded under the name of Farqua; however, phonetic assimilation may be responsible for this spelling. The artist is most probably Fatqua, an accomplished artist working in Canton and painting on glass for the European market at the time of this painting's production.

Another artist active in Canton in the latter half of the eighteenth century and producing paintings for the Europeans was Spoilum. Works by Spoilum are difficult to attribute, since few of them are signed. As a result we must rely on stylistic qualities to help identify the work. Spoilum's paintings are distinguished by certain characteristics: the three-quarter turn of the head (a European convention); one eye slightly bigger than the other, possibly a stylistic affectation in reproducing Western features or poor use of perspective; and a slight indistinctness or *sfumato* at the corners of the mouth, giving an enigmatic expression on the face of the sitter. Spoilum often hides one of his sitter's hands, either tucking it into the sitter's waistcoat or hiding it behind some other article of apparel. Perhaps this is evidence that he was not competent with hands; assuming of course that one artist was responsible for the production of a single piece rather than a studio. His figures also have a degree of flatness in their treatment and there is a certain lack of subtle modelling and shading in them. It was only later in the history of Chinese painting that the assimilation of the appropriate techniques led to a more masterful approach.

The small glass painting of a seaman could well be by the hand of Spoilum

¹⁶ This point could be used in an examination of the differences between European and American market demands which seem to have varied in several ways.

[Plate 6].¹⁷ It is not signed, but the figure in the painting bears stylistic similarities which suggest the hand of Spoilum. It is important to notice how the composition adheres to some European principles. The fashion of the period in both Britain and Europe favoured the vista framed between trees at either side of the canvas, the Claudian-type landscape. Spatial sense was given through the use of recession, for example the river receding into the background. In the examination of Chinese glass paintings we frequently detect this trend towards European convention: the idealization of the landscape, a pastoral idyll interpreted by Chinese artists for a market the tastes of which they did not seek fully to comprehend while at the same time they were quick to respond to its demands.

The reverse-glass portrait of George III in the Liverpool Museum collection is based upon an engraving / mezzotint by William Pether (1731-1795) and a drawing by Thomas Frye (1710-1762) published on November the 1st 1762. The engraving turns up on an East India Company document dated the 12th of October 1812.¹⁸

The portrait depicts the head and shoulders of the King with the head turned in three-quarter profile [Plate 7]¹⁹. Around the King's shoulders is a heavy chain of office. The plain background behind him records subtle changes in tone, a device often used characteristically in Chinese canvas portraits of a later date to give a feeling of dimension. The painting is competently handled, the paint being applied in broad sweeping strokes.

Canvas Portraits

This process of assimilating European conventions of portraiture had been a gradual one. When the artist George Chinnery (1774-1852) came to China he brought with him a European style of portraiture, for he was not prepared to assimilate Chinese styles into his work. Under his influence a school of portraiture grew up in Canton in which at last a balance was achieved

¹⁷ Portrait of a Sailor by Spoilum, reverse painted on glass, 18th century, 28 x 38 cm. [X 2715 Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight]. Information on Spoilum is from personal communication E. E. Worrall.

¹⁸ This painting, which was acquired in 1993 by Liverpool Museum, has no details of provenance and therefore no documented direct links with Liverpool.

¹⁹ Portrait of George III, Chinese artist, reverse painted on glass, 18th century 60.5 x 50.5 cm. [1993.69 Liverpool Museum]

between Chinese styles and European with far greater success than Spoilum had been able to reach half a century earlier.

Chinnery the British born artist was to spend the greater part of his life living and painting in Asia. The impact he had on the succeeding generations of Chinese artists was great. From 1825 Chinnery came to live in Macao. He was by now fifty years of age and his influence was to have a considerable effect on the productions made for export. The Chinese artist Lam Qua is reputed to have worked as his assistant for five years before opening his own studio in Canton. He was himself to exhibit at the Royal Academy. Lam Qua was by no means the only artist to emulate Chinnery; the list is long. The point of note here must be that Chinnery made no concessions in his art to the Chinese styles of painting. He was well trained in techniques of portraiture in Britain and his art in the Far East catered for the colonial community. The impact of his style was therefore very great on the Chinese artists keen to assimilate Western styles.

Where the personality of the sitter is not an issue but the painting attempts to record the image of an individual, then the painting still falls under the term "portrait". However, the individual recorded may never have existed. The dealer selling tea on a Chinese silk album painting is not a portrait of a specific individual. Nor could we claim with any confidence that the many standardized images of Commissioner Lin are what he actually looked like, they conform merely to the idea of him as to that of a tea seller. When Alexander was asked to commit the image of Qianlong to paper, he had never seen him with his own eyes and therefore made that image up from descriptions communicated to him. That image has however had the power to convey a historical record of the Emperor to subsequent generations.

John Ruskin in *Modern Painters* insisted that generalization was fatal to good portraiture. He believed that idealization could only be achieved through the careful study of "actual models" by which he clearly meant real people, and quotes the example of the great masters of European art. At the same time he sounds a note of warning against too superficial a copying of external characteristics.²⁰ We can see a conflict here between the art critic's view of portraiture and the less complex requirements of a public who still

²⁰ Ruskin, J. *Modern Painters* v. II (London, 1888) p. 128.

looked to the painter for an accurate record of how people looked. The photograph was to fulfil these latter requirements towards the end of the nineteenth century. A painting based on a daguerrotype is preserved in a private collection in Liverpool which represents a couple seated at either side of a small table taking tea. The poses and stiff formalized aspect of the sitters suggest a daguerrotype original [Plate 8]²¹. The handling of the sitters' faces modelled in light and shadow and the baldness of their expressions support this suggestion. It is clear that something of the depth and presence of the sitter is lost in the early photographic image. We can account for this by the relatively lengthy exposure time required. The painter, on the other hand, can allow the sitter to relax from time to time and perhaps change posture. In addition the possibility exists of verbal interaction between the two. Under these conditions a more subtle picture is obtainable and Ruskin's ideal standard of portraiture can be approached.

Comparison with an oil painting from earlier in the nineteenth century and in a private collection in Liverpool gives substance to this argument. The painting may be by the hand of Lamqua.²² Here the gentleman, elbow resting on his desk in a faintly casual pose, pauses before putting pen to paper [Plate 9]²³. He looks out, engaging the artist's attention and his mouth and eyes he a warmth of aspect. We are aware in such a painting of the subtle interaction between artist and sitter. Moreover, there is a sophistication in such a piece which is more than the product of mere skilled copying.

Equal penetration into the sitter's character can be shown in the portrait of a gentleman [Plate 10]²⁴, no doubt a man of some distinction in the business world. In the half-length portrait the sharpness of the light picks out the sitter's face and shoulders against a dark background. The face of the sitter is pivotal to the portrait. The many distracting details of the previous portrait have been dispensed with. The different style may indicate a different patron's demands or it may represent a different model being presented to the artist. This portrait shows the influence of Chinnery and may be a copy

²¹ Daguerreotype copy of couple taking tea, oil on canvas, late 19th century [private collection]

²² Personal communication E. E. Worrall.

²³ Portrait of a gentleman, oil on canvas, by Lamqua, 18th century [private collection]

²⁴ Portrait of a gentleman, showing influence of Chinnery, oil on canvas, 18th century [private collection]

of a work by him. Without documentation we do not know the details surrounding individual works, but we are left in no doubt of the versatility and adaptiveness of the Chinese artists in relation to the requirements of their European clients.

Figure and genre paintings

Some of our insights into the production of paintings are gained through genre paintings, or trade paintings. A watercolour by a Chinese artist in the Victoria and Albert Museum collection²⁵ shows an artist copying a European original upon glass. This direct copying of originals can be exemplified by many of the paintings dating to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Peabody Museum in Salem and a private collection in Boston where Goya has been copied. However, the author is unaware of any such pieces in British collections.²⁶

The other paintings in the Merseyside collection consist of pith paintings [Plates 11 - 19]²⁷ and paintings on silk [Plates 20 - 25]²⁸. The genre scenes in the collection contain no backdrop. The depiction of figures clearly shows an awareness of Western pictorial representation of the period, for example the shading of the costumes, and yet there is a linearity and a blandness to the face itself which lacks the modelling possessed by the rest of the body. The activities are described in Chinese text, which is unusual in this type of export painting. On many similar paintings of the period European text is

²⁵ Clunas, C. *Chinese Export Watercolours* V&A (London, 1984). Plate 12 p.38.

²⁶ A further example of the differences between European and American market demands.

²⁷ 11. Pith painting, dedication scene, 32 x 22.25 cm. 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum] 12. Pith painting, dressing-room scene, 32 x 22.25 cm. 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum] 13. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] 14. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] 15. Pith painting, seated woman and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] 16. Pith painting, seated woman and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] 17. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] 18. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] 19. Pith painting, seated woman and attendant 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]

²⁸ 20. Silk painting, food-seller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum] 21. Silk painting, tea-seller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum] 22. Silk painting, food-seller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum] 23. Silk painting, board-game players 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum] 24. Silk painting, foodseller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum] 25. Silk painting of a cooper, 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]

actually copied.

In the early eighteen-hundreds we see from the silk paintings the response to demands for genre paintings of Chinese life depicted more accurately but certainly here with a Westernizing style to it. Subsequently, as the pipal-leaf and pith paintings demonstrate, the pastiche of the Chinese way of life to which Craig Clunas refers was created²⁹ : a disproportion and idealization, rich ornamentation and bright colours. In such paintings the Chinese artists were catering for the tastes of the European market and that market's perception of what the Chinese and life in China were like. However, the scenes that the pith paintings represent are interesting because they do show Chinese activities, whether this be the funeral or the lady dressing in her boudoir.

Many of the everyday trades the European would have come across on the streets of Canton have been recorded by the Chinese artists in the form of albums in many cases for European consumption. The stylistic and conceptual traits seen in the paintings bear close comparison to the trades paintings of India.³⁰ The paintings of this nature clearly share a common objective. The figures in the paintings are not set within spatial parameters; though the Indian ones sometimes indicate shadows at the feet, the Chinese paintings rarely even have a ground plane indicated. The album of silk paintings in the Liverpool Museum collection shows a diversity of trades and occupations, which are all labelled in Chinese. These paintings probably date from the early eighteen-hundreds by which time the British colony at Canton, seasonally, and Macao was well established and European art forms pervaded the market and penetrated the awareness of Chinese artists. The residents of the European colony would also demand Chinese products; and their own distinctive preferences are discussed in the Furniture section. It would seem likely that these paintings were intended for the European markets, unless there was some political message in the paintings, and we would need evidence of pre-European Chinese trade paintings to prove this point. It is unlikely that Europeans would feel the necessity to buy depictions of European trades as art works. They felt attracted to depictions of trades of foreign cultures because of their curiosity value, for this was not

²⁹ Clunas, 1984.

³⁰ Archer, M. *India and British Portraiture, 1770-1825* (London, 1979).

yet the age of social realism. One final question might be raised: to what extent did the Chinese artists meet market requirements in these paintings? On whatever level we choose to examine the paintings, they demonstrate the effect of one culture's encounter with another and the response of both.

In the silk painting [Plate 25]³¹ depicting the barrel-maker we are shown the formula for the man's profession, the barrel and the mechanics for its manufacture. We see the craftsman, pigtail wound around his forehead, concentrating with lips parted on his task. There is no realism, no discarded offcuts, no setting and not even the vaguest of shadows. We are left in no doubt that this is far from the reality of the cooper's profession.

The foodseller from the same album [Plate 24]³² sits behind his colourful display whisking flies from it. Once again the minutiae of relevant details have been recorded for a buyer who wanted to distance himself from the everyday context of Chinese life. Again the value of this image for the buyer will have been its quaintness. For the person who has seen such scenes it was a memento, but for those far removed it was a strange representation from a land still shrouded in mystery and unexperienced by the great majority.

The same stylistic qualities referred to above can be seen in many pith paintings of the nineteenth century where the subjects seem to float without anchorage. Parallels too can be seen in Alexander's engravings showing Chinese costume, where the subject is not anchored to any spatial location.³³ A loose-leaf album of Chinese trades³⁴ in the Liverpool Museum collection shows the typical late eighteenth-century export production. Many trades are depicted. These paintings show an awareness and curiosity of the Europeans about life in a China far removed from the timeless idylls recorded in the glass paintings. The trades paintings preempt Alexander's engravings of the late eighteenth century which found such a demand within the British home

³¹ Silk painting of a cooper, 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]

³² Silk painting, foodseller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]

³³ Alexander, William *Costume in China* e.g. plate XXII of a Chinese woman. First published May 1799 by W. Miller, London, revised edition Singapore 1990, republished in *Views of Eighteenth-Century China* by William Alexander and George Henry Mason, Studio Edition, (London, 1988).

³⁴ Acc. no. 56.27.409

market.

This was the period when the myth of Chinoiserie had been largely dispelled.³⁵ Yet to some extent the silk paintings continue to foster this fantasy; the occupations which they depicted were alien to the Europeans, even the tortures common on many nineteenth-century pith paintings or European album records exhibit a cool, almost clinical, detachment from the harshness of the reality. From that point of view, these paintings are no more work-a-day realities than the glass paintings.

The demands and expectations reflected in art of the latter part of the nineteenth century were different from those of an earlier age. More of China was known, some of its mystique was therefore lost; the styles of British Chinoiserie were well established in the grammar of art. We witness a new breadth of artistic approach, involving a retrogression in one respect in that the consumer market now had an interest in the more fully Oriental product as opposed to the synthesis of Oriental and Occidental styles. This new breadth of vision is appreciable particularly in the paintings of the nineteenth century. In the pith paintings of the period, disproportion, as it would be described in Western terms, dominates the paintings; the insignificant people are diminutive in size in accordance with Chinese convention. At the same time there is an amount of naivety in the handling both of recession and of foreshortening and shading the face which seems to be the result of a determined attempt to master the Western convention [Plate 18]³⁶.

Nevertheless an examination of nineteenth-century export productions reveals that a major shift had occurred. The patrons were now different and alterations in patronage, which can be in part explained by the changes within the mechanisms of the trade itself, have been examined in the preceding chapters. In brief, with a change in the social and economic foundations of the trade new demands encouraged the development by Chinese artists of different styles. These new styles exhibit a catholicity in the choice of subject matter which was not present before.

³⁵ Jacobson, D. *Chinoiserie* (London, 1993). p.178.

³⁶ Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]

An interesting feature to be noted in one pith painting is a clock incorporated into a screen [Plate 19]³⁷. Clocks were introduced by the Jesuits into China quite early. The Chinese quickly came to manufacture their own clocks with equal skill and artistic accomplishment. So whilst this painting is up to date in minor details the concept of the export image had not advanced. This image still creates a picture of China sought by that portion of the export market which had no direct experience of China.

The detached floating images of mandarins and flowers still occur, but they are now distinguished and to some extent modified by the sheer quantities in which they were produced. The rich decoration on the painted surface and bright colours still pervade the scenes. Idealization and standardization dominate the facial features. Lack of modelling and shading give frontality and lack of depth. But these apparent failures to overcome the difficulties presented by such Western mannerisms can be seen less as inadequacies than as recognition that what was looked for in a Chinese painting for the export market was the presence of these very characteristics.

The increase in demands led to canvas and pith paintings and even pipal leaf paintings being demanded as being cheaper and less bulky to carry. Paintings are recorded by the crate in the incoming cargo section. As Chinese productions became accessible to a larger spectrum of society, the demands for quantity led to changes in the techniques used to produce the items. Increased contact with the Europeans in the nineteenth century led to increased demands. Large quantities of paintings could be produced quickly, especially by a large studio of artists. The paintings themselves conform to a definite formula; in fact, formula pervades export art. For example, the ships are invariably viewed from the side, as this was considered necessary for the portrait. The rigging and flags are carefully depicted. The ship is usually on a calm ocean with minimum background. Occasionally land can be seen, and ports recognised. The water is also depicted in a standardized form. No doubt this uniformity was due to the copying and production methods of the time. From time to time this question of quantity will be revisited in the following chapters.

³⁷ Pith painting, seated woman and attendant 32 x 24 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]

Ship portraits

The adoption of canvas placed greater demands upon the artist who specialized in ship portraits. Sailors required their ships to be depicted and were not content with mere hints of the sea, as we have seen with the sea captain standing by the water.³⁸ At last we begin to find representations of ships by themselves or portraits of dear ones copied simply from miniatures supplied by clients. In the late eighteen hundreds we find that daguerreotypes too were copied with great exactness in the likenesses of European sitters. We can be sure that buyers were exacting in their demand for accuracy of portrayal.

The sailors, it appears, would commission a portrait of their ship in much the same way as they would commission a personalized portrait. In some cases it is possible that the Chinese artist actually made the return voyage to Britain in order to produce works on the way. Two paintings of interest in the collection are those of the "Scawfell" Robert Thomson's ship [Plate 26]³⁹. One is in sail and one is anchored outside Hong Kong. Here beneath the mountain the new colony has spread itself along the bay. The growth of the Treaty Port community with its new residents focused on the trade was not so dissimilar to the society and people from among whom Robert Thomson had set sail. Another painting of the "Scawfell" shows her in full sail [Plate 27]⁴⁰. The artist could not have painted this portrait from life so easily, and it is possible that the painting was copied from something else. The reference point for this image clearly suggests the style of the "pierhead" masters. Here a prominent feature is the shading, which appears highly schematized. The use of shadow as a means of giving depth to an object appears to have been imperfectly understood by the Chinese artist. However, if this were a broadside view intended to give the maximum scope to view the ship's construction and rigging the subsequent concave sweep of the sails would cause the shadows to appear reversed.⁴¹

About twenty oil-on-canvas ship paintings are preserved in the NMGM

³⁸ Reference is being made specifically to examples such as Spoilum's sailor.

³⁹ Oil painting on canvas, "Scawfell", Chinese artist, anon. 1858, 70 x 55 cm. [50.29.2, MMM, R/Thomson collection]

⁴⁰ Oil painting on canvas, "Scawfell" Chinese artist, anon. 1858, 77 x 56 cm. [50.29.3 MMM, R/Thomson collection]

⁴¹ Personal communication David McGregor.

Maritime Museum. These are important because they represent the later stage of the trade which occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the transference from the style of reverse glass painting to actual production of canvas in China for export to the West.

Glass paintings produced in the eighteenth century make an interesting comparison with the canvas paintings. Seemingly the market demands had changed since then and portraiture now dominates the canvas market. Some of these portraits are taken from real life or copied from miniatures and, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, from daguerrotypes. On the other hand, artistic styles of the early nineteenth century did not seem to be so pervasive in this period. It appears that the average sailor most readily purchased portraits, the presence of canvas making the distinction between portraits of European origin and Chinese export productions less obvious.

A number of interesting Chinese paintings of European vessels are on display at the Merseyside Maritime Museum. Though most of these paintings are unsigned, their Chinese origin is clearly identifiable from certain stylistic conventions which persist alongside an authenticity and naturalism in their treatment of their subject. These paintings of ships by Chinese artists are so clearly different in treatment from contemporary work produced by nineteenth-century European maritime painters that we seem justified in identifying them as the product of a stylistic departure both from a Chinese past and from a European present. However parallels can be found with the school of painters popularly known as the "pierhead painters" working in Liverpool during the nineteenth century; among them Thomas Dove, Charles Waldron and John Hughes.⁴² Although these were artists living and working in the port of Liverpool, many of their paintings are no longer in the city. A good selection are preserved in America, indicating the importance of maritime trading links between the port of Liverpool and the American ports.

⁴² Davidson, A. S. *Marine Art & Liverpool Painters, places and flag codes 1760-1960* (Wolverhampton, 1986) prefers the term 'artisan artist' to 'pierhead painter'. It is debatable which is more patronising. The full list which he gives of these painters is Thomas Dove 1812-1886, John Hughes 1806-1880, Joseph Desilva 1816-1875, Duncan McFarlane 1818-1865, W K McMin 1818-1898, Charles J Waldron 1836-1883, Charles Ogilvy 1832-1890. He adds that few of them were successful enough to give up their day jobs, which were always closely connected with seafaring or shipbuilding.

The term "pierhead painters" is used to categorize a group of European artists, frequently amateurs, who painted commissions of sea portraits from the sailing community, often therefore finding business on the quay side. The conventions that governed their art productions included an accurate depiction of the ship, its form and rigging, from a profile view [Plate 28]⁴³. Occasionally a view of the coast identifies the supposed location of the vessel. Though they excelled in details of sails, rigging and deck layout, they were less accurate in their treatment of sea and sky, which were usually recorded in conventional terms, for example as calm or rough, clear or overcast. It is likely that their works become the model for Chinese artists pursuing a similar living for the same clients from the ports in and around China.

There can be little doubt that the style of the Chinese paintings was a response to market forces by schools of export artists working in the highly competitive climate of the Treaty Ports of the Chinese mainland and parallel to the painters working in an identical expanding *nouveau-riche* society in the British out-ports. Contact between the communities, and therefore the transference of styles, was maintained by the maritime routes. The new rapidity and increased frequency of ship movements led to a more rapid transfer of styles between the communities. Changes in the market demands of the nineteenth century therefore can be seen to lead to new and distinctive styles of painting being developed. An examination of them can clarify the nature of the art imported into the British out-ports through the China Trade during the nineteenth century, depending as it does on associated shifts in patronage during this period.

After 1834 the nineteenth century was to become the age of the entrepreneur trader. This class of businessman was not so much a new creation as a revival in a new guise of an old and familiar swashbuckler, the Elizabethan merchant, half buccaneer, half pioneer. And as in the Elizabethan age of colonial expansion, the nineteenth century economic climate placed new emphasis on the achievements of the individual.

After the monopoly of the Company was removed in 1834, the China Trade became accessible to anyone who wished to invest or participate in it. Many

⁴³ Two views of the brig "Arab" by Miles and Samuel Walters c. 1830

of these new participants in the trade were from Liverpool and, as we have seen, from this date onward the port of Liverpool came to play an increasingly important role in the China Trade.⁴⁴ People combined their resources in order to fund the ships, many taking part shares.⁴⁵ For the first time access to China was given to a new breed of man, the entrepreneur trader. The establishment of the Treaty Ports on the coast of China paralleled the population growth of the British out-ports such as Liverpool. Expatriate British communities became resident on the Chinese mainland following the settlements of the Opium Wars in the 1840s and in much the same way the population of Liverpool expanded with the increased opportunities for employment.

New emphasis on the achievements of the individual merchant-entrepreneur encouraged documentation of his exploits. With the growth of personal profit becoming possible, the seafarers themselves became potential patrons of art. To some extent they sought to emulate their eighteenth-century predecessors from the Company. But there was one difference: their commissions were not based on a desire for lower-priced reproductions of fashions at home⁴⁶ but on a more personal and pragmatic footing. They sought accurate records of themselves and their ships. As a result we find that included in the personal documentation we possess is a record of the accumulation of keepsakes, curios and pictures of life in the Far East, portraits of individuals and of the ships on which their livelihood depended.⁴⁷

A significant part of this documentation was, inevitably, the pictorial record. The traveller abroad on business now sought to acquire paintings that no

⁴⁴ Ayers, J. *English Naive Ship Painting 1750-1900* (London, 1980). p.83. The author comments that between 1830 and 1835 there was a 47% increase in the traffic through Liverpool. My own research into shipping statistics shows that during the first decades there was a large amount of traffic to and from the Far East although London still retained some commerce.

Finch, R. *The Ship Painters* (Suffolk, 1975) p.17. The author states that during the opening decades of the 19th century Liverpool's population had quadrupled. This indicated too the growth in the city's prosperity during this period.

Davidson, 1986 also refers to the port's growth . p.14.

⁴⁵ Ayers, 1980 p.83.

⁴⁶ It can be argued that this was not the only driving force of 18th and early 19th century patronage. There may well have been fashions for Chinese export productions in their own right.

⁴⁷ Ayers, 1980 p.82.. The author comments on the emotional link between the patron and his vessel.

longer simply conformed to fashions prevalent in Europe, but which would stand as a record of his travels and those of his fellow traders.⁴⁸ On another level, such shifts in artistic demand can be traced back to the reception of Alexander's engravings of the Macartney Embassy published after his return to Britain in the late 1790s. British consumers were beginning to be fascinated now by depictions of the reality rather than its idealized version.

The changing market in the early nineteenth-century, then, and the fact that artistic requirements were different from what had gone before, led to the development of a different type of product.⁴⁹ Naturally the arrival in the out-port communities of this new taste for realism led to the spread of what had begun as purely expatriate fashions,⁵⁰ so that ship portraits became a fashionable feature of British art in the mid-nineteenth century. The widespread publication of ship paintings combined with the fascination of the new technology in ship-building to encourage the dissemination of the style in this period.⁵¹

Unlike the eighteenth-century traveller to the legendary Cathay, this new class of patron did not look solely for things specifically Chinese - though small items of this nature were acceptable as curios - nor yet for cheaper reproductions of goods such as armorial porcelain hitherto available only to the land-owning gentry. In the eighteenth century, Chinese artists, always responsive to their market, had sought to incorporate in their designs many of the features characteristic of European artefacts, e.g. armorial plate and so-called Chinese Chippendale.

Instead, the nineteenth-century entrepreneur now sought what was personal and significant in the context of his own activity. As well as a portrait of himself in a heroic pose with a suitable landscape background he looked for a portrait of his ship. In the nineteenth century the ship became

⁴⁸ Ayers, 1980 p.83. The composition was largely dictated by the client. He could dictate the weather conditions and what he wanted the ship to do. The likelihood of mass production of background in the latter half of the century makes it likely that the client was detached about this aspect and an accurate record of the vessel was his primary desire. No doubt more autonomy in his dictating the form of the production would have involved more expense.

⁴⁹ Finch, 1975 p.24. The tradition of ship portrait painting derives from that of votive ship painting.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.18.

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 58-59. The middle decades of the 19th century saw "the golden age of print makers".

increasingly important to the individual mariner; both his life and in many cases his personal investment was bound up in it. The painting of his ship became a very popular export product; her faithful image was as personal a portrait as a man could look for. This particularity of function of nineteenth-century Chinese export paintings marked them as very distinct from the types of export painting being brought over to Europe during the eighteenth century, for example relatively inexpensive portraits of sovereigns and even of saints identifiable by their attributes and ornaments rather than by their particular features.

Developments in Chinese ship paintings proceeded apparently from the naive to the more realistic, more lively approach.⁵² The traveller abroad on business also sought to acquire paintings that no longer simply conformed to fashions prevalent in Europe, but which would stand as a record of his travels and those of his fellow traders. This gave rise to a thriving industry of export painting and we have the names, and often the addresses, of a number of Chinese artists who ran large studios specialising in the production of these goods. The ship painting was a very popular export product and this was clearly a demand that was supplied at every port.⁵³ The Chinese schools of export painting could therefore be seen to be developing concurrently with those of the British, European and American ports. It is probable that increased demand led to mass production, the sea and port scene being already painted and the individual ship being painted later to order.⁵⁴

This revision in the specification for these objects of desire meant that now new goals were set for the Chinese artist and the result was an amalgam of stylistic features. What was demanded above all was authenticity combined with accuracy. After a hundred days aboard a ship the queasiest of landlubbers could not fail to become closely - even painfully - acquainted with the details of his immediate surroundings and the professional sea dogs who accompanied him would be even more exacting in the demands

⁵² Finch, 1975 p. 18. Developments in the British pierhead painters were the reverse; by the latter part of the century the carefully recorded tacks and turns and accurate depiction of sail and water had gone.

⁵³ Ayers, 1980. p.82.

⁵⁴ Brook-Hart, D. *British 19th Century Marine Painting* Antique Collectors Club (London, 1974). p.24.

they made of the maritime painter.⁵⁵

We should bear in mind that the buyers often combined in one person both the trader and seafaring man who knew details about rigging and ship design and would not tolerate departures from truth. Whether the subject was a clipper ship surviving from the tea or opium trade or a newfangled and slightly less reliable steamer combining funnel and sails in the true British belt and braces tradition, the purchaser was sharp-eyed, wily and well-informed and the artist had to match him.⁵⁶

There remained of course the great unfathomable, the Ocean itself. Few would claim to have encountered that element in all its moods or to have seen all the aspects its surface could present. Here the Chinese artist could exercise his particular vision and it is in their treatment of water that the Chinese ship painters express their natural taste for design and good order. Not for them the vision of the sea so often portrayed in the drawing-rooms of Victorian England, the wild and untamed ocean, the equally unpredictable lake, likely at any moment to raise a cruel squall and inundate the most Romantic of poets.

While the Chinese had known typhoon and tidal wave, they did not usually choose to set their ships in the midst of these manifestations. Instead they went so far as to formalize the sea. This conventional treatment of the surface of water by the Chinese maritime artists is probably not to be seen as stylized; for them to formalize was simply to normalize. Elements of standardization and formalism can be seen too in the paintings of the "pierhead painters" where even the slightly earlier works of Robert Salmon show the water broken into rhythmic waves.⁵⁷ What therefore might be attributed to Chinese style can equally be identified as European formalism.

But if these Chinese pictures were intended for sale to foreign traders why does such a clear stylistic code dominate the paintings? The most powerful conventions are those which we do not acknowledge to ourselves and it is

⁵⁵ Davidson, 1986. p.15. The author comments on the fact that the artists involved in painting ship portraits during the 19th century often had extensive knowledge of ships.

⁵⁶ Finch, 1975, p.29. Side portraits of ships took over from the portrait showing several different angles during the course of the 19th century.

⁵⁷ Finch, 1975, p.20.

possible that the artists remained unaware of the characteristics of their work which made them so distinct. The formulae which were used in Chinese ship paintings are of interest to us because they show a new awareness of European styles as they were gradually being assimilated by Chinese artists. Equally too we can conclude that the exchange of style was reciprocal. Chinese styles for the export market were, in other media, always aware of their own artistic conventions, which it would seem were sometimes hard to shed. If the Chinese artists were up to date with the British styles of portrait production so European and British artists were aware of theirs.

The relatively rapid way in which styles could be communicated is easily understandable. But now too there were expatriate communities of Chinese artists as far flung as Calcutta and perhaps even Liverpool. The clear stylistic code that dominates the paintings seems therefore to be the result, primarily, of an increased international contact between port communities as well as a new establishment of patronage from seamen.

We have seen that the levels of accuracy these new patrons were beginning to demand from the artists were different from those that had gone before. The "pierhead painters" were producing "anatomically" accurate portraits of ships. We have noted the fact that the buyers were often seafaring men who knew details about rigging and ship design and would not tolerate departures from truth, but equally the painters had often been to sea as well.⁵⁸ The influence that these new trading patterns and new patrons have on the China Trade and Liverpool's role therein is considerable.⁵⁹ It has implications for the mid-to late-nineteenth century products of the China Trade as a whole.

Some difference of view arises in the critical treatment of Chinese ship painters of the period. There is, for example, some uncertainty about whether or not to treat them as a separate category or to include them with the European ship painters.⁶⁰ Certainly the stylistic characteristics of Chinese

⁵⁸ Ayers, 1980, p.9. The author comments that the painters were often of the same level of society as the patrons.

⁵⁹ Davidson, 1986, p. 14 tells us that artists focused on the city because of its prosperity.

⁶⁰ Archibald, E. H. H. in the *Dictionary of Sea Painters* Antique Collectors Club (London, 1982) includes a limited number apparently arbitrarily selected.

ship painting are there, especially in the treatment of surroundings, but art historians familiar with traditional Chinese painting will readily identify them as partaking of the European tradition. They are distinct, for example, from paintings of Chinese vessels to be found in Chinese art.

Finally, what is the appeal of paintings of the sea and of the works of mankind in relation to the sea? The dominant element on this planet, and the one to which we are not native, the sea, both attracts and repels, depending on the weather and our mood. Perhaps we depict it in order to exorcise our fear of it by an assumption of mastery. More likely, we are caught in its spell, trapped in the net of the great sea-god and cannot dismiss it from our consciousness even if we wanted to.

The depiction of Chinese boats is yet another section for study. These were painted on pith paper for the European market and their value must have been that of souvenirs; no doubt the arrival of the camera did away with such productions. The varieties of junks are clearly identifiable. The term "junk" applies loosely to native far-Eastern sailing vessels.⁶¹ The decoration of the vessels is bound up with mythology, symbolism and religion in China.⁶² One particular model of a junk in the collection at Liverpool Museum would appear to be *ahua-pi-ku* or Foo Choo pole-junk; these could be quite large vessels often for carrying timber. Distinctive are their tall oval stern with brightly coloured paintings and a high flaring bow. The decoration of the stern shows two long narrow panel border-panels on the sides of the stern with two other panels containing floral designs. The form and nature of these designs varies.⁶³

The oculi are usually very conspicuous with large black and white rings.⁶⁴ With a few exceptions the oculus as a form of decoration is only found on a few estuary junks. It is present in the north of China, mainly from the Yangtse to Amoy, and it is generally accepted that the eyes were borrowed from Arabian craft. One theory is that the oculus is only found in craft hailing from ports which were trading stations in ancient times. In fishing

⁶¹ Worcester, G. R. G. *Junks and Sampans of the Yangsie* (Maryland, 1971). p.28.

⁶² Worcester, 1971. p.37.

⁶³ The upper panels depicts a *yen* bird wings outstretched seated on a rock with a troubled sea around it. A similar bird appears on the junk in the pith painting.

⁶⁴ Worcester, 1971. pp.190-191.

junks the eyeball is often set low so as to observe the fish: in trading junks the eye looks straight ahead to avoid the perils in front.⁶⁵ A wooden model of a war junk in the Liverpool Museum collection testifies to the same remarkable detail. Two of the boats illustrated are almost certainly floating dwellings, one designed to keep animals above the water [Plate 29]⁶⁶. Another with very colourful decoration could be a dwelling or a floating place of entertainment [Plate 30]⁶⁷.

In comparison with other China Trade paintings collections on an international scale, the Liverpool collection shows an adequate cross section of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century paintings, enabling us to draw some conclusions. It has to be said, though, that the range is neither outstanding in quality or quantity, and perhaps this factor is indicative of the shifting scales of popularity and function. On another level too it demonstrates the difficulty of ascribing objects within museums to collections and also current controversy over the definition of art and artefact.

⁶⁵ Worcester, 1971, p.39.

⁶⁶ Pith painting, floating dwelling, 22.2 x 32 cm. 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum]

⁶⁷ Pith painting, entertainment boat, 22.2 x 32 cm. 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum]

CHAPTER SIX: CHINESE EXPORT FURNITURE

The Liverpool collections, in all seven Museums, represent Chinese export furniture in its various forms. The majority of pieces are housed in the Liverpool Museum collection, numbering approximately one hundred items. Many were acquired in 1991,¹ however they are relevant here in that the pieces discussed are of local provenance, it being possible in many cases to name their original owner in the port of Liverpool. This certainly gives us a picture of local consumerism in the port during the nineteenth century.

Bills of entry for 1854, for example, include the following records. Those on the 5th May record the clipper ship "Star of the East" from Wu Sung as carrying among other items six cases of furniture and a private order for the master, J B Robertson, of three tables. On the 16th November the "Patna" arriving from Canton included one box of lacquered ware. Other entries list "japanned" and "japan", which almost certainly refer to Chinese export lacquered goods.

The economic and technological changes during the nineteenth-century China Trade combined with changing tastes in furniture and decoration to alter the nature of commodities traded. A discussion of shifts in status and patronage has already been made in the proceeding chapters. Chinese furniture was substantially traded during the nineteenth century, but here we are chiefly concerned with the middle to latter parts of the century. Crossman outlines the following categories for export furniture: Western manner; including bamboo furniture, campaign chests, desks and lap desks, trunks and sea chests, and furniture in a more fully Chinese style.²

Taste and the arbiters of elegance

Publications had done much to disseminate fashions and styles of the period during the eighteenth century. In 1754 two books were published: the *Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director*, by Thomas Chippendale, and the *New Book of Chinese Designs*, by Edwards and Darly. Lacquer furniture had

¹ The Dorothy Worrall collection acquired in 1991 is particularly strong in its representation of Chinese export furniture and metalwork, many recorded as having a local Liverpool provenance.

² Crossman, C. *The China Trade: Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver and Other Objects* (Woodbridge, 1972). p. 117.

been growing more popular from the seventeenth century. George Parker published his *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* in 1688, which popularised the art of oriental lacquer in Britain.³ Sir William Chambers' *Chinese Designs* appeared in 1757. The first illustrations of Oriental bamboo furniture led to these being used for simulated Chinese designs.⁴ These were primarily designed for craftsman and connoisseurs, but the nineteenth century brought an increase in relatively cheap publications and popular guides to taste.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was particularly a period when the vogue of the popular lecturer was at its height. Popularity of this kind comes into existence where it strikes a sympathetic chord in the mind of the listener. Eminent among the popular lecturers was John Ruskin, whose writings preserve for us the substance of many of his lectures. It is notable that he seems to have been highly successful in the large industrial centres of the Midlands and North of England.

To suggest that through his lectures Ruskin influenced popular opinion is certainly feasible. But it may also be possible to take him as reflecting, and giving a rational basis to, current views and prejudices. It may seem remarkable that an intelligent man, such as Ruskin undoubtedly was, would take the rather patronising view of Chinese and Indian art which is illustrated in quotations in the previous chapter, but we should bear in mind that this was the view taken by the majority of his audience.

More significantly for our purpose, we ought to look at his support of the views that were to underpin the Arts and Crafts movement, views which William Morris was to develop to their logical conclusion. This belief that an article had to be both well crafted and serviceable surely drew a sympathetic response from Ruskin's audiences in the industrial and mercantile centres. Ruskin's views should be taken not as a formative influence on contemporary thought so much as a key to ideas already current in the society which he addressed. If this is so, we might look at the articles of overseas origin, in the present context of China Trade furniture, in order to see how far they were a guide to the ideas of the middle class in

³ Ibid. p. 17.

⁴ Ibid. pp.19-20.

newly developed urban centres like Liverpool.

Frequently the basis of our evidence for the furniture being imported from China is the record of private trading. Thus it is difficult to quantify the amounts shipped and equally so to assess stylistic change and variation since these were to some extent dependent on the whim of the trader or skipper. Private trading is often undocumented, omitted from bills and lading, and therefore largely untraceable to its origins. In the late nineteenth century Robert Thomson mentions purchasing chairs.

ss. "Agamemnon" Canal Oct. 12th 1874

. . . . there will be no chance for Jenetta's chairs this voyage as I am not going to Penang. I am very sorry as I would like to bring her some. I do not think I can get them at Singapore, but I will enquire.

This reference sums up some of the problems in tracing provenance information on furniture. First, during the nineteenth century the rapid decentralisation of trade centres and craftsmen led to the production of furniture in many trading centres beyond the Chinese mainland. Further, the definition of China Trade must now encompass Chinese craftsman working outside China on pieces of furniture for domestic sale as well as for European patrons.

Up to a point we can identify trade products by the nature of the wood used. However, there is the complicating factor also of commissioning patrons' transporting the wood for craftsmen to work upon. Again Robert Thomson indicates some involvement in this.

Scawfell Sharp peak River Min Oct. 7th 1866

... I have been spending more money since I wrote last, although I always say I am not to spend any more, but some of it I expect to make a profit on. I have bought 21,100 canes and two logs of camphor wood

The purposes to which these particular logs are to be put are not stated, nor do we know their ultimate destination. It is possible that Thomson himself did not know. For example, the Americans were also shipping woods such as sandalwood in the trade.

The problems of provenance are compounded by the fact that with the establishment of the Treaty Ports a flourishing internal trade grew up between, for example, Hong Kong and Shanghai. From the early sixties onward the rivalry between British and American shipping firms in this domestic trade intensified. Inevitably, Chinese merchants were interested in this trade and took advantage of the cargo space available on foreign steamships which had discharged part of their cargo in one port and were known to be bound for another.⁵

This brings to our notice the importance of another community, that of the "Straits Chinese", who were to a greater or lesser extent uprooted from their native context and forced to establish a way of life in close contact with their neighbours who were largely expatriate Europeans. We can trace a parallel here with the communities of uprooted rural British establishing themselves in the burgeoning urban context of the outports.

Questions of Provenance

Of major importance in analysing collections of nineteenth-century artefacts is the matter of their provenance. To some extent documentation can be found. In an earlier chapter concerning private trading a selection of orders were quoted as below:

Archibald Boyd Leamington 5th March 1844

Camphor if within £8 (eight pounds) per cut No @ 150
peculs- taking care that there be no mixing of salt or
Saltpetre which has been the case with a good deal imported
lately.

May 18th order sent to Canton

Camphor order to Canton countermanded

Procurable outside a
portion of the purchases in
Amoy & Hong Kong to be
appropriated in this acc^t

⁵ Liu, Kwang-Ching *Anglo-American Steamship Rivalry in China 1862-1874* (Cambridge Mass., 1962) *passim*.

Soy - 20 Ahos? purchased @
\$7³/₄ ppl.in Canton

2 Pair Garden Seats (1 pr porcelain & 1 pr Blue pattern)

January, shipped per "Pathfinder" for London Memo of 6
cases & "Ariel" for J. Middleton Esq.

No.1 - 1 Case cont of 1 Lacq Work Table Hipqua

-----4 - 1 ----- 1 Pair Garden seats Porcelain Cumchong
--12

These are just a few examples of furniture orders in the nineteenth century. Without this kind of information in the case of specific objects it is difficult to be sure of the application "China Trade" to an individual piece. For this reason the documents of Robert Thomson stand as an important source of information, for, although exact links between pieces in his collection can seldom be made from his correspondence, we can at least be certain in conjecturing approximate dates for their entry to the country and in assuming that they demonstrate personal gifts to his family.⁶ As with many nineteenth-century examples of trade furniture the quality is not high in terms of workmanship. The lacquer worktable/ sewing box in his collection [Plate 31]⁷ is such an example.

Steam provided local merchants based in the Treaty Ports with a swift and practical alternative to Chinese junk shipping. Liu reminds us that from 1873, when the Chinese government sponsored a shipping undertaking called the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, Chinese merchants took an active part in this trade between the Treaty Ports and provided both the British and the Americans with competition which compelled foreign shipping companies to reduce their freight rates.

We may notice that the burgeoning Treaty Port culture created its individual styles in artefacts produced for the use of expatriate Europeans

⁶ Two items of furniture are accessioned to the NMGM collections from the Read/Thomson gift, only one has been located. 50.30.112 Black And Gold Lacquer Bureau And Cabinet [not found] 50.30.113. Black And Gold Lacquer Worktable; Ht 72.5cm., L.6.4cm., W.44.2cm. Liverpool Museum.

⁷ Lacquered worktable 73 cm. third quarter 19th century [50.30.113, R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]

on the one hand and "Straits Chinese" on the other. To some extent these different communities must have gone their own ways, but it is likely that their tastes were communicated, and European influences seem to have been powerful.

Attempting an assessment in twentieth-century terms, Liu points out:

But whatever the final balance of good and evil, there were nevertheless elements of treaty-port life that represented the best in Western civilization and of which the West can well be proud.⁸

It is important at this point to look at what was happening to contemporary British styles. Gloag in his discussion on Victorian taste in furnishings tells us that the middle classes during the nineteenth century copied the models set by richer people. He says:

No matter to what grade of the middle class they belonged, they were usually without any standards that would enable them to appraise the aesthetic merit of their furniture, and were quite unaware of this deficiency.⁹

If this rather damning statement is to be taken at face value, it would certainly appear that terms of reference for such aesthetic appraisal were variable at this time. We might even question whether middle-class buyers of furniture were particularly concerned with "aesthetic merit"; they were perhaps more interested in conforming to fashion. Prevailing fashion did not preclude good quality but certainly at times prevailed over it. If the values that the middle classes developed were based upon upper-class models, presumably it would have been because these aristocratic standards governed the tastes of this period. Yet it would be simplistic and unhelpful to describe the middle-class criteria merely as class-aspirational standards. If the northern businessman was prone then, as now, to proclaim that he knew what he liked, we can guess that at least he looked for something serviceable that offered good value for money.

It was to be expected that those prominent figures in nineteenth-century

⁸ Liu, Kwang-Ching 1962, p. ix.

⁹ Gloag, J. *Victorian Comfort: A Social History of Design from 1830-1900* (London, 1961). p.33.

society who saw it as their duty to give guidance on artistic taste would see this uncertainty among the middle class as an opportunity for intervention. There was now a new dissemination of information on furniture styles by way of published materials such as books, magazines and newspapers.¹⁰ A rapid increase in printed matter of this kind might be expected to lead to a standardisation in taste. We have learnt at the present time not to discount the influence the media can have on our tastes and preferences. Certainly the circulation of information might lead to the development of clearly delineated fashions which would govern the choice, and to some extent presumably the availability, of items on the market.

Traders' tastes

All traders supply a demand and this was certainly true of the traders who operated through the Treaty Ports. While no doubt a wide selection of goods was available to them, the choice they made reflected the requirements of their patrons at home. On the other hand, as has already been pointed out, we cannot discount the possibility that suppliers may also create a demand where none existed before and the traders must have been continually on the lookout for new and unusual artefacts which might appeal to the home market.

The identification of "trade" furniture depends upon: wood type, decoration, joinery, style and provenance (where documented). Crossman identifies some of these characteristics in the following passage:

The Forbes furniture, possibly made for their house in China, is heavily in the Chinese style, while trying to maintain some of the lines of Empire or Victorian furniture. Massive and overly decorated, the sofas and pier tables would have been perfect for the enormous rooms with high ceilings and large windows of the houses built in Hong Kong and Shanghai from 1860 to 1890. Here Chinese dragons, flowers and symbols all join together in a never-ending twist of carving reminiscent of the designs of the carved ivory and horn tusks. Enormous tables, impossible to move, with great marble insets were made for their houses and later shipped back to China.¹¹

A sofa in the Liverpool collection bears some similar characteristics to the

¹⁰ Ibid. 1961 p.34.

¹¹ Crossman, 1972, p.165.

taste mentioned [Plate 32]¹². The piece is firmly planted on the ground and seems to rise with difficulty into its heavy form, upholstered with green Chinese silk. The weighty carved wood swirls are reminiscent of the rococo designs in Europe which in their turn drew upon Chinese design for some of their inspiration, yet the heaviness and predictability of the design fall well within the stylistic confines of Chinese-produced pieces. This furniture is so heavy that it presents great difficulty when moved as a whole yet readily disassembles into smaller manageable pieces which betray in its intentions a sense of permanence combined with a need for transportability.

Here we may refer again to Ruskin's views as probably embodying, rather than challenging, accepted contemporary attitudes. Of decorative art he says

Observe, then, first - the only essential distinction between Decorative and other art is the being fitted for a fixed place; and in that place, related, either in subordination or in command, to the effect of other pieces of art. And all the greatest art which the world has produced is thus fitted for a place, and subordinated to a purpose . . . So far from Decorative art being inferior to other art because it is fixed to a spot - on the whole it may be considered as rather a piece of degradation that it should be portable.¹³

If this is a reflection of current taste it appears that China Trade furniture, by the facts of its manufacture and conveyance had to be a compromise. Traditional Chinese taste had long favoured simplicity and what has come to be known as functionalism in the West, a fact which surprised Western critics who regarded ornate lacquerwork and elaborate carvings as typifying Chinese furniture.¹⁴ On the other hand many European critics of Victorian taste regard it as unduly fond of the ornate. That examples of both styles were to be found in the nineteenth-century Treaty Ports is evident from the furniture in the collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside.

A few of the items in the Liverpool Museum can be traced directly back to their trading context, and in the context of this thesis the Robert Thomson

¹² Sofa, hardwood, L. 199 cm. Ht. 82 cm. late 19th century [1991.121.27 Liverpool Museum]

¹³ Ruskin, J. *The Two Paths Lecture III* first published 1859 reissued 1878 (London, 1907). Sections 73-4 pp. 89-90.

¹⁴ Clunas, C. *Chinese Furniture* (London, 1988). p.104.

pieces are most relevant. The sewing table [Plate 31]¹⁵ which Robert Thomson brought back for his family in Liverpool consists of six separate sections. These are assembled by interlocking mortice and tenon joints. The only use of screws is to secure the tabletop to the legs. The silk bag which was suspended from the base of the table is missing. The tabletop still contains its ivory fittings and lidded separate compartments. The interior is decorated, as is the whole piece, with gold lacquer on a black ground.¹⁶ The most intricate decoration is restricted to the surface of the bevelled table lid. Here the gold lacquer is applied in a fine tracery of lines with foliations and decorative cartouches. The decoration is applied with the same theme upon all the visible surfaces of the table, legs and feet.

Nineteenth-century Export Bamboo Furniture

There are only two examples of Chinese bamboo export furniture in the collections at the National Museums and Galleries. The study of these pieces gives an interesting insight into the growth and fashions of the trade during the nineteenth century.

Very early pieces of bamboo furniture do not survive. Bamboo furniture was initially manufactured for the domestic market.¹⁷ Bamboo lent itself to furniture designs because of its qualities of flexibility and strength, and by virtue of its availability and cost.¹⁸ But for the purposes of this study we know that by the end of the eighteenth century production of bamboo furniture was well established for a home and export market.¹⁹ Various publications attest to the popularity of bamboo-style furniture designs in Britain and Europe.

Under the East India Company's domination the fashion and popularity of

¹⁵ See footnote 7.

¹⁶ Such black and gold decoration is most commonly found on export lacquer pieces. Crossman, 1991. p.263.

¹⁷ Clunas, 1988. p. 66. Wujiang is mentioned as a place of origin for bamboo chairs in the seventeenth century and Suzhou as a centre for production in the sixteenth century through to the nineteenth.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1988 p.37. Clunas mentions Rudolf Hommel's note concerning poorer mountainous regions who relied on bamboo as a furniture material, which is not categorised as a timber but as a grass.

¹⁹ Walking, G. *Antique Bamboo Furniture* (London, 1979). p.15.

bamboo furniture had begun to grow and eventually peaked. The period of the trade after 1834 saw the fashion in a decline, though never extinguished, and changing its place within the structure of fashionable furniture in the house to garden and conservatory pieces. This fall from popularity may not be responsible for the shortage of examples in the Liverpool Museum collections. This is probably merely fortuitous.

Bamboo furniture peaked in popularity in England in 1800-1830, but appeared in international exhibitions after 1851. Its form changed little over the centuries.²⁰ This may have been due to the relatively intractable properties of the material. Walking conjectures that the event that revived the fashion for bamboo furniture was the opening of the Royal Pavilion at Brighton. From the 1780s to the 1790s Chinoiserie declined in popularity. George Prince of Wales briefly resurrected it at the turn of the century. John Crace and Sons were in charge of the interior designs initially in the Pavilion; his son Frederick was in charge assisted by Robert Jones & Lambelet. The interior design was inspired by a gift of Chinese wallpapers to the Prince and the Chinese gallery was built to house them. In 1802 the China gallery was furnished with bamboo furniture acquired by Crace possibly through the cargoes of Dr James Garrett, an agent employed by the Prince to buy objects directly from China for Carlton House.²¹

Some pieces represented in the Royal Pavilion are of Chinese manufacture in the style of designs resembling pieces made in imitation of bamboo furniture which were probably sent out to China for copying in bamboo.²² Imitation bamboo was commissioned in London from Elward, Marsh & Tatham in beech, and their designs were very exuberant.²³ Sometimes the pieces incorporated panels or detailing from export pieces. Imitation bamboo provided a theme for the decoration of the Pavilion, cast-iron staircase, wallpapers, mouldings.²⁴

During the latter nineteenth century after the fashion had culminated with the Pavilion, there was general confusion about whether bamboo furniture

²⁰ Ibid. 1979 p. 29.

²¹ Ibid. 1979 p. 23.

²² Ibid. 1979 p.32.

²³ Ibid. 1979 p. 23.

²⁴ Ibid. 1979 p. 28.

came from Japan or China.²⁵ Bamboo furniture was produced in Britain first by the firm Hubert Bill of 14 Little Camden Street, London. The material came from Japan in the form of bamboo poles, and lacquer panels.²⁶ Japan's participation in the trade probably accounts for this confusion about provenance. Next to lacquer, woven grass was the most common form of covering imported from Japan, China, India and Madagascar.²⁷

By the late nineteenth century the customer could specify the designs.²⁸ This would lead to a new diversity in the designs of furniture available. The Chinese, according to Walking, had little enthusiasm for exporting bamboo furniture to Europe and America from 1830 onwards. They made little attempt to change to the new demands.²⁹ They continued to export bamboo, however, and to display pieces at the International Exhibitions.

Of the two pieces of bamboo furniture preserved in the Liverpool collection one is a child's chair. Free-standing, made from large open-ended pieces of bamboo, the chair is dated to the nineteenth century [Plate 33].³⁰

Another chair [Plate 34]³¹ is a square construction piece, more similar to the style of chair in the Royal Pavilion, which may be earlier in date. This chair incorporates both broad and fine bamboo in its construction. The finer stems form a trellis design which has withstood climatic variations to result in a surprising lack of warpage and distortion. The original rattan seat is intact. No doubt the durability of such pieces of furniture added to their popularity.

Lacquered Furniture

The next category singled out for mention here is that of lacquered pieces. Lacquered Chinese furniture was the subject of much Western interest at

²⁵ Ibid. 1979 p. 46.

²⁶ Ibid. 1979 p. 49.

²⁷ Ibid. 1979 p. 50.

²⁸ Ibid. 1979 p. 54.

²⁹ Ibid. 1979 p. 114.

³⁰ A parallel illustration to the child's chair is illustrated Ibid. 1979 p. 116, illustration 132. Plate 33 shows a child's rattan chair with sliding table. Ht. 68 cm. 19th century [1991.121.15 Liverpool Museum]

³¹ Rattan armchair of square proportions. Ht. 88 x 49 cm. early 19th century [1991.121.22 Liverpool Museum]

the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, so much so that the study of Chinese hardwood furniture was largely ignored. The first scholarly publication on wooden furniture *Chinese Domestic Furniture* was written by Gustav Ecke. This work, which largely dealt with hardwood furniture, to some extent contributed to the decline of lacquer work furniture from popularity during the early twentieth century.³²

Lacquer furniture was a popular aspect of the export market. The demand from Westerners was very high and their failure to reproduce it successfully in Europe resulted in a steady demand throughout the trading period under examination. Attempts to reproduce lacquer furniture can be seen on many occasions in the form of papier maché pieces or even "Japanned" pieces in *vernis Martin*. A technique developed by four brothers, Vernis Martin was not simply a copy of lacquer but was a decorative technique in its own right. Its main advantage lay in the range of colours available, although its application was a lengthy process requiring about forty coats.³³ This failure was due of course to a lack of understanding by the Europeans of the processes involved in the manufacture of lacquer. China of course had been producing lacquer serviceable utensils from an early date, for example the lacquered wine cups found in Mawangdui.³⁴ The characteristics which affected its use in China were those of durability and toughness as a protective coating as well as its decorative potential. It was these characteristics which drew the Western patrons to oriental lacquer.

The lacquer furniture pieces made in Canton in the eighteenth century were considered inferior to those made in Tonking and Nanking due to the apparently hasty execution of their decoration.³⁵ Shapes and sizes are represented by popular standard forms; Western-style lacquered pieces were at their most popular in America at the end on the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁶ The pieces are often characterised by the lightness of their weight and their ability to pack away into easily transportable units. Mostly the decoration is in gold upon a black background. The Thomson sewing table conforms to this standard entirely.

³² Mason, L. in preface to Chin, S. Lok Fu et al. *Classical Chinese Wood Furniture* (San Francisco, 1992). p.8.

³³ Jacobson, 1993, p. 84.

³⁴ Changsha, Hunan, second century BC.

³⁵ Crossman, 1991. p.263.

³⁶ Crossman, 1972. p. 170.

The motifs of decoration demonstrate some factors about the interchange and transmission of styles in this period. In form, just as the pieces frequently draw upon European shapes sent out with the traders to China, the decoration shows a similar process of cross-fertilisation going on. Sometimes the designs are Chinese adaptations of European pastiches of Chinese decoration, sometimes the designs are taken from export ceramic designs and on occasion from Japanese designs.³⁷ An example of this transference of style is the maroon sewing table in the Liverpool collection [Plate 35]³⁸. The hanging attenuated fronds, painted in gold and green on the maroon ground, appear to be hybridised from a Chinese ceramic decoration as their origin, probably reinvented in the West and transferred back to China.

A Japanese export European-style piece in the collection makes an interesting comparison to the Chinese export pieces [Plate 36]³⁹. The workmanship is more refined than the Chinese pieces with *makie* decoration on the undersides. The decoration shows European-style inlaid flower borders and a floral centrepiece on a black lacquered ground. The origins the form and decoration of this piece are entirely European; the manner of their execution entirely Far Eastern.

Hardwood furniture

Home demand in China for fine wood furniture is regarded as being the result of economic prosperity which was a result of the inflow of silver into China.⁴⁰ The silver, from the latter sixteenth century onward was traded by Spanish merchants for silk and porcelain. Other countries including Britain used silver to purchase Chinese goods.⁴¹ Some of the main centres of furniture production during this period were maritime trading ports such as

³⁷ Crossman, 1972. p. 172.

³⁸ Maroon lacquer sewing table, Ht. 73.5 cm. L. 62 cm. 19th century [1991.121.13]

³⁹ Japanese black lacquer export table. Ht. 71 cm. x 47 cm. 19th century [1991.121.25 Liverpool Museum]

⁴⁰ Atwell, William S. 'International Bullion Flows and the Chinese Economy circa 1530-1650' *Past and Present* 95 1982. pp.68-90.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1992 p.16.

Suzhou, Ningbo, and Nanjing.⁴² Not only silver was imported but also various woods. As mercantile wealth grew so too the Chinese shipping merchants became patrons of the arts such as furniture production.⁴³ This demonstrates an interesting parallel with contemporary developments in outport communities in Britain.

The issue of transmission of style and the ordering of copies by East India Company officials at the port of Canton can be illustrated by a Chinese knee-hole desk [Plate 37]⁴⁴ acquired by Liverpool Museum in 1991 and of local provenance. Crossman illustrates an apparently identical piece from the Milhender collection in America and it appears that four of these knee-hole desks were produced, copying directly from Chippendale's design book.⁴⁵ The desk is made from huali wood which, as Clunas discusses, is a term covering several species of oriental wood.⁴⁶ The distinguishing features of this desk copied accurately from the design illustration are its distinctively Chinese wood and joinery and paktong⁴⁷ fittings. Perhaps it can be conjectured that within the social structure of the time Chinese export furniture was highly esteemed. It seems natural therefore to assume that even in the nineteenth century export pieces this esteem persisted, at least locally. Another Chinese copy of a European design is a Hepplewhite style chair in the Liverpool Museum collection [Plate 38]⁴⁸.

During the eighteenth century London was the main centre of the furniture export trade, and during the nineteenth it remained so. During the nineteenth century it further expanded "keeping pace with the vastly expanded trade routes of the period".⁴⁹ Dark wood furniture was in vogue in the mid to latter part of the nineteenth century. But by the 1880s lighter designs were becoming increasingly fashionable.⁵⁰ Quality became less important than style, and the copying of furniture was acceptable. Such

⁴² Ibid. 1992 p.17 & p.24.

⁴³ Ibid. 1992 p.17.

⁴⁴ Chippendale-style desk, 1754 design, Huali knee-hole desk. Ht. 78 cm. L. 114 cm. W. 72 cm. [1991.121.20 Liverpool Museum]

⁴⁵ Chippendale, Thomas *Design Book* 1754. Plate XLI.

⁴⁶ Clunas, 1988, p.40.

⁴⁷ A copper, nickel and zinc alloy.

⁴⁸ Hepplewhite style chair, late 18th century. Ht. 93 cm. [1991.121. 3 Liverpool Museum]

⁴⁹ Joy, E.T. "Overseas Trade in Furniture in the Nineteenth Century" *Furniture History: The Journal of The Furniture Society* v. V (London, 1970). p.63.

⁵⁰ Gloag, 1961. p.34.

shifts were probably reflected also in the export market from and into Britain.

When we look back at the Victorian furnishings and associated paraphernalia we are at times likely to be judgmental. Steegman points this out when he tells us that retrospectively we tend to judge most Victorian taste as bad:

Not until the usual cynical prejudice has worn itself out will the period come to be regarded objectively, and its merits and demerits seriously assessed. It will then be found that the taste of 1850 reflects many of the qualities that we associate with the general thought and feeling of the period in England. ⁵¹

The Great Exhibition had a part to play in the development of taste, and the dissemination of style. Naturally the huge quantities of people who visited it were in some way influenced by the experience. The presence of "oriental" items at the exhibition will have contributed to this broadening of taste.

The many exhibitions which were taking place in London at this time further contributed to the dissemination of information. Exposure to what was exhibited as "oriental" and the popularity of such exhibitions must have contributed to the undermining of old values and re-emergence of new ones. Clive Wainwright⁵² points out that for the first time in 1820-1850 the client with money to furnish the interior of his house had such a choice of styles available. Gas lighting had already arrived, which was brighter than oil lighting, and even such a change as this would influence the interior decoration required.

In 1870 China's imports of furniture came to £6,107, Japan's to £4,449. Hong Kong alone accounted for £4,031. The overall development from the 1840s to 1880s is seen to increase rapidly in the last two decades. ⁵³ First in this analysis the author speculates in terminology; what exactly did the term "Furniture" or "Cabinet and Upholstery" wares include and exclude?

⁵¹ Steegman, John *Victorian Taste A study of the Arts and Architecture from 1830-1870* (Cambridge, 1970). p.226.

⁵² Wainwright, C. "The Early Victorian Interior" in (ed) Wright, S. M. *The decorative Arts in the Victorian Period* (London, 1989). p.13.

⁵³ Joy, E. T. "Overseas Trade in Furniture in the Nineteenth Century" *Furniture History: The Journal of The Furniture Society* v. V (London, 1970) p. 63.

Another point is that these figures only include registered cargoes, and "private trading" is not declared. In the early days of colonisation of Australia and New Zealand, the immigrants took most of their furniture with them. The questions are therefore raised as to how much the early colonists in China took with them, and whether they needed to. E. T. Joy states that colonies retained the fashions of their mother country: "eagerness to keep up with fashions in England became prime considerations".⁵⁴

The growth of British interest in Chinese furniture is generally ascribed to the late nineteenth century as is that of America.⁵⁵ Indeed the relationship between Britain and America during this period deserves closer examination as the shipping data show. This is dealt with by Liu Kwang-ching⁵⁶ so far as the Treaty Ports are concerned but a more universal study would be enlightening.

Hardwood Chinese furniture was coming in with the East India Company during the eighteenth century as a privately traded commodity. A list of items brought into Britain by Captain Robert Bootle on the *London* in 1735-36 include "lacquered cabinets, 2 large; chairs, 8 rosewood; card tables, 2 rosewood; table, 1 large; bookcase, 1 rosewood."⁵⁷

Paintings representing furniture are to be found frequently in Chinese art.⁵⁸ Chinese paintings could be considered accurate material for the study of furniture. The problems cited by Lark Mason⁵⁹ with the study of classical furniture need not necessarily be said to apply to trade paintings. Mason's view is that paintings were not designed to record furniture accurately but to depict some other message, whilst trade paintings do depict the commodities with the aim of representing the scenes of their production, and the paintings were clearly produced with this intention in mind.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.65.

⁵⁵ Mason, L. in preface to Chin et al., 1992. p. 6.

⁵⁶ Liu, Kwang-Ching, 1962. passim.

⁵⁷ Pritchard, Earl H. 'Private trade between England and China in the eighteenth century' *Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient* v.i 1958 p.247.

⁵⁸ For example Crossman 1991, p.241.

⁵⁹ Mason in preface to Chin et al., 1992. p.11.

Home produced traditional Chinese furniture is often characterised by mortise and tenon joints.⁶⁰ This type of construction had the added advantage that with expansion and contraction due to climatic variation the mobile joints absorbed the stresses and strains protecting the furniture from cracking and warping. The technique was first used in China in the 4th century B.C.⁶¹

A seventeenth-century account tells us that itinerant Chinese craftsman would travel seasonally at the onset of summer from Southern China to Indonesia.⁶² This kind of trading movement most probably continued throughout the succeeding centuries. During the nineteenth century the question of Chinese production in ports outside the Chinese mainland is one of great interest in the study of Chinese export furniture.

In his book on Straits Chinese furniture, Ho Wing Meng discusses the different types of furniture being produced in the nineteenth century in the Straits communities.⁶³ The author tells us that the East India Company laid claim to Penang in 1786, Malacca in 1795 and Singapore in 1819. Until about 1876 in the case of Penang, and 1875-1880 in the case of Singapore the administrators for the Straits communities and British settlers relied upon furniture imported from England. But from about 1880 reproductions of these pieces were produced in teakwood. This type of production increased until the 1930s when it started to decline.⁶⁴

In emulation of the British settlers who were commissioning the English-style furniture to be made by the Chinese craftsman in Singapore, Malacca and Penang, the Straits Chinese started to commission the same styles and became the most enthusiastic patrons of this style.⁶⁵ The Straits Chinese were very eclectic in the styles they used, and indeed this type of furniture is only one out of three quoted as being characteristic of Straits Chinese furniture by Ho Wing Meng. The Straits Chinese also had imported a great

⁶⁰ Chin et al., 1992. p. 24.

⁶¹ Ibid. 1992 p. 24 the original source being Murck, Alfreda and Fong, Wen *A Chinese Garden Court* (New York, 1980). p. 48.

⁶² Ibid. 1992 p. 26. Quoted from Yoshinobu Shiba 'Ningbo and its Hinterland' in Skinner, G. W (Ed.) *The City in late Imperial China* p. 399.

⁶³ Ho, Wing Meng *Straits Chinese Furniture: A collector's Guide* (Singapore, 1994) passim.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 1994. p. 28.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 1994. pp. 28-29.

deal of furniture from China. Their community however was more inclined to be adventurous in the development of their traditional tastes.

This suggests that in attempting to define "trade furniture" at this period the difficulty arising from shifts in tastes, itinerant craftsman and centres of production, transporting of woods and shifts in patronage confuse the matter somewhat. Another factor is that furniture movements in this period were not necessarily commercial in intent. In the end we probably have to content ourselves with a situation where, without detailed provenance, any attempt at categorisation is likely to be conjectural.

The following questions might be asked, answers to which can only be conjectured at present. To what extent did the Treaty Port communities order items from Britain; to what extent did they encourage local craftsmanship to provide them with what they wanted; and finally what was the impact on style of their doing so and how far did this affect the export trade from China to Britain?

Similarly the reverse situation requires examination. If families returned to this country from China, such as the Dent family at Flass House, they brought with them some of their furniture. This then cannot be said to be export furniture by definition, but was certainly the product of "Treaty Port culture". Another point worth examination is a photograph of an Edwardian interior⁶⁶ photographed in the 1930s which is described as having changed little since the end of the last century. This is then described as being similar to Chinese family interiors, making yet another factor the emulation of European styles in the interior decoration of Chinese merchant family homes towards the close of the century.

The examination of furniture which we may group under the term "China trade" appears to invite a distinction between Straits Chinese style furniture, which was not specifically designed for export but which inevitably found its way to Europe, and exports specially designed for the Western market, for example the highly ornamental furniture which was still demanded as "typically" Chinese. Certain articles brought back by returning expatriates, either for their own enjoyment or for that of their families, served to

⁶⁶ Keswick, M. (Ed.) *The Thistle and the Jade* (London, 1982). p.38.

remind the donor and recipients of an association with the Far East. Such memorabilia are to be found frequently even today. But the China Trade furniture brought to Britain was clearly intended for use. One does not normally harbour useless articles of such weight and substance, whatever their associations.

A good insight into what may have been happening in China is encapsulated by Ho Wing Meng in his discussions about India.⁶⁷ The British residents purchased Indian manufactured goods to supplement the pieces they had taken out with them from England. The author discusses Emma Roberts who in 1835 wrote that extra furniture could easily be purchased from the bazaars. The quality of the Indian furniture is praised by her, along with its elegance, the chairs and the tables being notable for their fine wood and handsome carving. Lacquered furniture could also be acquired in India. Bombay was the chief importer of furniture, and some pieces went to Indian shops which used them as patterns.⁶⁸

There are two major considerations on the subject of Chinese furniture that are relevant here: the definition of "trade goods" and the identification of place of manufacture. By the late nineteenth century the establishment of the Treaty Ports had led to a spread in trading centres and craftsmen. Craftsmen had spread beyond the Chinese mainland to places such as Batavia and India and this subsequently increased the availability of Chinese manufactured goods. As a result, the materials used are not necessarily a good indication of place of manufacture, because they could have been brought from Europe, America⁶⁹, China or India to any of these locations.⁷⁰ This decentralisation led to the manufacture of Chinese-style⁷¹ furniture in a wide spread of locations.

The definition of trade goods and colonial goods becomes blurred, yet this is a distinction which needs to be made if the Treaty Port Culture style is to be

⁶⁷ Ho, Wing Meng 1994. p. 70.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 1994. p. 70.

⁶⁹ Crossman, 1972, p.153-154, mentions the shipment of wood from America as a possibility in many cases.

⁷⁰ The records in the Matheson archive in Cambridge record the passage of Teak Planks coming into China through Jardine and Matheson.

⁷¹ A clear definition of this term is required: furniture made by Chinese craftsmen within the scope of mainland production types whether these be in imitation of European or Chinese prototypes.

recognised as a distinct grouping. Naturally this is never a group which can be precisely delineated due to the close relationship between colonial settlers and European traders. It is here that shipping records, especially orders, can make the distinction clearer.

For this study therefore it may be useful to regard the term "trade" as covering all these groupings under the common denominator of European or American patronage. Consideration under this heading is also given to Chinese or mixed blood families in China or connected settlements, for example in the Straits, whose residences frequently emulated European interiors or, to be more precise, Treaty Port Culture-style interiors.

The main difference between a European-style export piece and a China Trade piece of furniture lies in their construction and the woods used. Broadly speaking, on these bases the furniture can be divided into western-style and Chinese-style categories.

We have already mentioned, at the start of this chapter, pieces of furniture which may have been made for the Treaty Port residences owned by both British and Chinese merchants and traders. Mention has also been given to the fashions of the Victorian Period in Britain and the developments of taste.⁷²

In this connection mention must be made of Clunas's discussion of Chinese hardwoods and the scholarly attention which they have received both recently and in the past. George Kates, Clunas tells us, drew a comparison between Ming Chinese hardwood furniture and with what he called the "bad taste of the Victorian age" and its "fondness for the merely ornate". Here a dichotomy is presented between that which is "functional" and that which is "decorated". Kates asserted that the Chinese élite in the late nineteenth century preferred the paler hardwood furniture. An examination of their attitude towards furniture would require an in-depth analysis of textual evidence to establish the role of the export piece in the framework of Chinese society.

Another interesting approach would be to view Chinese furniture exported

⁷² Clunas, 1988. p.105.

to Europe in the context of the models used and the copying of both Chinese styles in Britain and European styles in China. It might be possible to examine pieces from eighteenth-century private orders in comparison with those from nineteenth-century private orders. But once again the issue of provenance becomes paramount. We cannot parallel the types of details apparent in relation to Van Braam's collection with those of the Liverpool pieces.

Traders and Travellers

Perhaps one of the most notable sections within the class of Furniture represented in the Liverpool Museum are travelling items, pieces designed for the transient, such as writing desks [Plate 39]⁷³ and trunks [Plate 40]⁷⁴. These items are intended to fulfil a clearly defined function within the trading and travelling nineteenth-century community. Here taste and aesthetic merit are subordinated to function; there is no aspirational or social declaration implicit in these items. In the context of documentary evidence they merit little comment. Yet in the context of their owner's daily shipboard existence they fulfilled a role which elevated them in terms of importance higher than the more fashionable pieces of furniture for the Liverpool home.

Crossman tells us that chests were used on board ship or in the hong⁷⁵, some also being sold on the open market.⁷⁶ Many are covered in leather with decorative tacks. Trunks were often made in sets of diminishing sizes. Others are of wood often with plates attached for inscriptions.

Fold-out writing desks were a popular purchase item for the traders, made by furniture manufacturers, they were manufactured on various levels of sophistication, folding away to a rectangular box when shut. Since items of this nature were widely manufactured in this country at the time, and many of them survive in private hands, it is not always easy to be certain of

⁷³ Travelling writing desk bearing maker's label *Kwong Man Shing*. L. 52.5 cm. W. 43 cm. 18th century [1991.121.75 Liverpool Museum]

⁷⁴ Trunk, L. 92 cm. W. 46.5 cm. Ht. 41.5 cm. 19th century [1991.121.16 Liverpool Museum]

⁷⁵ Crossman, 1972. p.148.

⁷⁶ Nelson, Christina *Directly from China: Export goods for the American Market, 1784-1930* (Massachusetts, 1985). p. 90.

identification as "trade" items. What clues are available will be likely to depend on the nature and quality of the wood.

Whether the items examined were bought for their own use by traders or selected with the tastes of their compatriots in mind, it can be seen how taste in furniture, like taste in the interior decoration of residences generally, changed in the nineteenth century. The copying of Far Eastern design motifs which was such an important aspect of Chinoiserie gave way to the development of a mixed form where European middle-class tastes were influenced by such elements as Straits Chinese taste and where the development of new communities led to shifts in the commissioning of furniture.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ORNAMENTS & ACCESSORIES

The dynamics of collecting oriental art in nineteenth-century Liverpool

Social and economic developments are crucial to the role of the art object in the new nineteenth century society. The collections in Liverpool reflect the character of consumerism in the city and the role of Chinese export art within the patterns of that consumerism. It appears that the fashion for collecting Chinese art had fallen in popularity since the eighteenth century. Even so, in the first decade of the nineteenth century William Bullock opened a museum in the city which contained some examples of Chinese objects and objets d'art.¹ As soon as the East India Company's franchise was removed, the process governing dealings in Far Eastern art in the city certainly enjoyed new freedom. In 1835 an auction was advertised which consisted entirely of Chinese objects shipped to Britain by a Captain Crawford. The terminology is interesting here; what were then rarities were not to remain so for long as the frequency with which similar items turn up in the Liverpool Museum collections goes some way to prove.

A singularly valuable collection of Chinese rarities imported direct from China, per the Bell-haven, Capt. Crawford, consisting of the most beautiful specimens of Oriental carving in ivory, and a great variety of articles of domestic utility, embracing chess-men, card-cases, paper-knives, fans, needlecases, nettingcases, wafer stamps, ring and other puzzles, balls, cards and whist counters, extremely curious Chinese rice paper, drawings, feather fans, tea caddies, work-boxes, mats, stone figures, and many other curious and interesting items.²

Joseph Mayer, who owned a jewellery business in the city, is one of Liverpool's better known collectors. He regularly went to the Royal Institution, founded in Liverpool by William Roscoe in 1815, learning from the books in the library and visiting the art gallery. In May 1852 Mayer included some Chinese objects in his Egyptian Museum at Number 8 Colquitt Street. Later in the following decade Mayer would have known James Lord Bowes, the wool broker, and his collection of Japanese art, including ceramics, which was opened as a private Museum in 1890.

¹ Bullock, William *Companion to the Liverpool Museum* (Bath, 1809).

² *Liverpool Mercury* 20th March 1835 p.97, 'Superb Chinese Rarities by Mr. Hime'.

The lives of these leading mercantile men were linked by social events; societies such as the Literary and Philosophical Society gave them ample opportunity to exchange ideas and talk at their regular meetings and events. Alfred Holt was elected to the society in 1852, Joseph Mayer in 1844, and Bowes towards the end of his life in 1894.³ Interestingly, sea captains such as Kidd and Thomson are never recorded as members, the social circles in which they moved probably being of another order.

In the second half of the century Mayer's interest in ceramics increased, an interest which many others shared. Archaeological excavations at Bewsey Old Hall have revealed thousands of shards which may suggest that there was a warehouse on the site for the dissemination of Chinese ceramics which by some fortuitous event was destroyed.⁴ Certainly Mayer's interest in Chinese ceramics may have arisen from his interest in local Liverpool wares, many examples of which are still retained in the Merseyside Museum collections.⁵ Mayer was in touch with London collectors such as Franks⁶ and we may assume that the links between collectors in both cities were strong.

Mayer records the potters John Sadler and Chaffers as having manufactured china in Liverpool from about 1760 and says of their successor Seth Pennington: "His productions were so excellent that they have been often sold for Oriental China, of which they are a close and admirable imitation."⁷ The more famous Herculaneum Pottery of Liverpool came to an end in 1841.

Between 1872 and 1882 the Liverpool Art club hosted and published catalogues of as many as six exhibitions which were dedicated to Chinese and Japanese artefacts or in which Chinese and Japanese artefacts were

³ Unpublished annal *The Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool 1812-1912*.

⁴ Private communication Dominic Biezanek.

⁵ In 1877 Charles Tindal Gatty, assistant curator of the Mayor Collection, read a paper entitled 'The Mayor Collection in the Liverpool Museum considered as an educational possession' before the members of the Liverpool Art Club. 5th November.

⁶ Wilson, D. M. *The Forgotten Collector Augustus Wollaston Franks of the British Museum* (London, 1984). passim.

⁷ 'On the Art of Pottery', a paper read at the Liverpool Free Library and Museum by Joseph Mayer FSA FRSNA, Liverpool, March 1 1871.

strongly represented.⁸

In Liverpool, philanthropy and encouragement of interest in the arts were exercised by prominent members of the local mercantile community. Rathbone in 1882 endowed the city with the college that was to become the University of Liverpool in 1903, and the Walker Art Gallery was endowed by the Walker family in 1872. At the same time associations in the city grew up; the leisure time now available to some allowed the citizens to gather and discourse upon art, discussions which were given impetus by popular lectures at, for instance, the Liverpool Art Club. Parallel developments occurred in other cities. Societies, institutions and museums within the city were well established by the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁹

The distinction between an object defined as decorative art within the museum collection and a similar object in its own primary context of usage and function can be hard to prove without an individual historical background. Related to this is the possession and use of China Trade items by the different and yet parallel developing communities in the Straits, the treaty ports and the British out-ports such as Liverpool. As part of the reassessment of class values and restructuring of urban communities in all of these quite distinct communities, objects came to fulfil a structured role in identifying the individual to his class and society. The apparent fripperies of the Victorian age were of value in more than one sense, not merely for their utility value but also as social markers.

An interesting question raised by Crosby Forbes is why the Europeans and Americans needed to buy export products from China.¹⁰ Crosby Forbes's

⁸ *Catalogue Raisonné of the Oriental Exhibition of the Liverpool Art Club December 1872* contained a number of Chinese pieces lent by J L Bowes. *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Goldsmiths' Art April 1874* contained a number of Chinese pieces including belts, bangles, charm medals and cases of opium equipment. *Catalogue of a loan collection of illustrated manuscripts October 1876* contained some Japanese books lent by J L Bowes. *Catalogue of a loan collection of fans 1877* included a large number of Chinese and Japanese fans. From the descriptions these are very similar to and may be identical with some of the China Trade fans in the NMGM collection. *Catalogue of specimens of art work in Chinese snuff bottles and other articles in enamel, porcelain, ivory etc connected with the use of tobacco October 1878*. *Catalogue of a collection of Chinese porcelain lent for exhibition to the Liverpool Art Club by George R Davies Esq. October 1878*.

⁹ Bains, Thomas *Lancashire and Cheshire Past and Present: A history and description of the Palatine counties of Lancashire and Chester forming the north western division of England etc.* (London, 1867). pp. xxxv - xlv.

¹⁰ Forbes, H. A. Crosby *Chinese Export Silver: A Legacy of Luxury* (Baltimore, 1984). p.3.

discussion is related exclusively to export silver but it can be extended. He answers the question in the following terms: that personal competition between individuals, competition within the wider context of one's peer group and the individual's personal aspirations all influenced what was purchased. The possession of decorative commodities from abroad reflected status. For the colonial community it was easier to have the commodity manufactured than have it brought over from Britain. In his discussion Crosby Forbes does not distinguish between the Treaty port communities and those at "home". This is notable because in terms of social values clear distinctions need not be made, these separate communities having the same structured values and being inextricably bound to one another by ethnic and cultural ties. Their increasing accessibility is reflected in advertisements from 1883 onward for travel to the Straits and China. In 1888 the Holt Ocean Steam Ship Company advertised in *The Times* trips from Liverpool to the Straits and China for between £40.00 to £50.00.¹¹

STEAM for the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS and
CHINA - the OCEAN STEAM SHIP COMPANY
will be dispatched for Penang, Singapore, Hong
Kong, and Shanghai as follows.

Telemachus from Liverpool June 6
Stentor from Liverpool June 22
Patroclus from Liverpool June 30
Deucalion from Liverpool July 7

Sleeping rooms, and saloons on deck, Surgeon,
Stewardesses and European Crew. First class fare
to the Straits £40; to Hong Kong £45; to Shanghai
£50. Apply to John Swire and Sons 19 Billiter
Street, London: or to Alfred Holt, 1 India
Buildings, Liverpool.

This discussion of China Trade items in the holdings of the Merseyside Museums now brings us to the following subgroups of objects collected: fabrics, metalwork, games, domestic utensils, ceramics, costume accessories and ornaments. Statistically these objects have the largest representation in the collections and are spread throughout the seven separate NMGM collections. They also strongly represent individual collecting in Liverpool, and for this reason the objects are discussed in accordance with the information we possess about their local provenance.

¹¹ *The Times* 9 June 1888 p. 2.

How did such objects fit into the Victorian ethos? A society which was conscious of possessions as significant in terms of the individual's quality and standing came to regard the silver on your table and the furniture of your room as statements about your social position which were read as deliberately as the clothes you wore, the way you deported yourself and the circles in which you mixed.

Never had he seemed to her so awful a being as he appeared this morning in his own room, surrounded by all the symbols of power - the bronze bust of Cicero looking down at him from the bookcase; his despatch-box open at his side, bristling with pen-knives and paper-knives, and stern official stationery; his ponderous silver inkstand . . . and all the pomp and circumstances of his business life about him.¹²

It was into the grammar of this visual language and its readable social codes that the China Trade export products were absorbed by a new status-conscious *nouveau riche* society.

Leisure, by the Mid-Victorian period, had become increasingly more important as the economic security of the time, reflected in the services and the commodities that people could now buy, increased the leisure time available to the new middle-classes now centred in urban communities. By 1860 *The Times* recorded "great displacement of the masses, momentous changes in level".¹³ Publications became more abundant for that portion of society who had the leisure hours to indulge in casual reading and, for the more active, sport and games became popular pastimes, dinner parties were given and, from the paraphernalia of such occasions, the guest would be able to judge the social standing of the host. Train networks serviced the transport requirements of the new leisured classes, as the taking of trips and holidays became fashionable. Even voyages abroad, as we have seen, were now in the reach of those who could afford the fares.

Dress fashion was always an object of considerable interest, in communities at home and abroad, and the parallels observed and recorded further typify

¹² Braddon, Mary E. *Asphodel*, a novel, (London, 1860-70) p.153. See also Asa Briggs *Victorian Things* (London, 1988) pp. 11-51.

¹³ *The Times* 30th August 1860. p.6.

the close interrelation of the separate groups. Robert Thomson took the time to write to his wife Nell about what he and others were wearing.

Fleur Castle Foo Chow, June 5th 1877

There was a fantastic performance up at town the other day, & I was invited by the agents & of course got A free ticket, & I got the same in Shanghai in the like occasion, of course it was full dress, & I was full dress all except the gloves I could not manage that my hands are too big.

Kincaid tells us of similar concerns among the Company employees in India who were apparently less interested in where their clothes came from and the quality of the fabric than whether their cut adhered to the latest fashions being set in Europe.¹⁴ Similarly those travellers who had had the good fortune to put in at European ports such as Boulogne had the opportunity to rush to buy the very latest season's fashions and were regarded with close scrutiny by their eager compatriots in India keen to know the very latest fashions, no doubt in order to have copies made.¹⁵ European-style trade clothing rarely survives, but the Smeeton waistcoat [Plate 41]¹⁶ is one particularly fine example in the Liverpool Museum collection.

Utensils: Tea and table wares

The fashion for taking tea in Britain is said to have begun in 1665 when the first official order was placed with the East India Company by Charles II, whose new wife, Catherine of Braganza, brought with her from Portugal the continental habit of tea drinking. A quantity of tea was finding its way into Britain before this date by means of private trading. It was not until after 1665 that we see it coming in as an official cargo item, at first not a dominant one, since tea was initially acquired for its medicinal properties. Pepys records coming into contact with tea both as a social and medicinal drink.

28th August 1660

"I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I never had

¹⁴ Kincaid, D. *British Social Life in India 1608-1937* (London, 1938) p. 21.

¹⁵ Kincaid, 1938. p. 65.

¹⁶ The Smeeton waistcoat. L. 49 cm. W. 40 cm. late 19th century [1993.43 Liverpool Museum]

drank before . . ."

28th June 1667

"Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions."

It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that tea consumption took on its important social function. Indeed the early history of tea consumption in Britain is one of arguments urging its detrimental effects on the populace, as it vied with gin as a popular beverage. Tea had come down from a drink consumed by the aristocracy to one consumed by the general public. Early in its consumption it was blended to the taste of the drinker, but later ready-blended tea was available. The British China Trade, as has been already pointed out, revolved chiefly around the tea trade. China was the sole provider of tea until Assam tea was shipped to Britain in 1839. It is not surprising therefore that a large number of the pieces in the Liverpool collection are tea-associated pieces.

The tea-associated wares in the collection span dates from the Company's period of domination and through the period of the release of the franchise. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the trade in tea dominated bulk orders and private trading alike. Along with the tea wares came the associated table wares. The armorial wares dating from before 1834 were probably mainly private trade items. The Company had to auction all pieces it returned to Britain including private orders, so it is believed that the persons or families who commissioned these pieces had to secure them at auction upon their return.¹⁷

Many teacups in the collection reflect the fashion of drinking tea through the period of tea's popularity; small tea cups [Plate 42]¹⁸ as well as the larger coffee and chocolate cups [Plate 43]¹⁹ can be found in the collection. Tea accessories include the variety of tea caddies in the collection, some lacquer-decorated [Plate 44]²⁰, some of metal, and some of wood. Teapots range

¹⁷ Personal communication from E. E. Worrall.

¹⁸ Porcelain tea cup and saucer, Chinese, overglaze enamel decoration of brown eared bulbuls [on loan / Liverpool Museum]

¹⁹ Porcelain tea cup and saucer, Chinese, monogrammed Cup Ht. 5 cm. Saucer W. 14 cm. [56.27.939 Liverpool Museum]

²⁰ Lacquer tea canister of black lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl, 37 x 28 cm. 19th century [1991.121.78 Liverpool Museum]

from ceramic wares from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through to metal items of pewter, silver and paktong mostly from the nineteenth century. The demand for other decorative wares also marked the period, soup tureens, plates and pots as well as the decorative garniture pieces of the same period.

Many of the bills of entry record 'China Ware' , 'China vases' coming into the Liverpool. In some cases these may have included objects like the 'Gibson bowl' and 'Wilson vase' in Joseph Mayer's collection.

General Utility Items: The Harper-Parker Collection

The Harper-Parker collection is a collection of general utility items which were brought back to Liverpool and given to the Museum at the end of the nineteenth century. There is only a little information on Harper-Parker telling us that he lived in China working as Her Majesty's Consul, Kiungchow, Hainan Island, China. The collection totals two-hundred and forty items. Interestingly once again the problem of definition emerges; we are justified in calling these items "trade" but they are more analogous to a "treaty port culture" collection.

These items do not have a high standard of craftsmanship and were probably in common usage. They are not strictly speaking art objects. Such largely functional objects constitute quite a small category but they show the more mundane and practical side of trading life.²¹ Items include scrapers , awls and a wooden grater with metal fittings. Chinese razors are also represented [Plate 45]²² . One example is with certainty to the 1870s. The painting on silk shows a similar razor in use [Plate 46]²³ . The fashion for wearing the hair in this manner with a shaved forehead was imposed by the Manchu rulers of the Qing dynasty.

A pair of scissors still bearing their maker's name is also preserved.²⁴ Once

²¹ This is a side that is not always well represented in similar collections.

²² Chinese razor, metal. L.15.5 cm. late 19th century [1872.42.11, Harper-Parker collection, Liverpool Museum]

²³ Silk painting, 24 x 20 cm. late 18th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]

²⁴ Unfortunately it has not been possible to decipher this signature.

again in this example no pains have been taken to craft these as a decorative item, they appear purely functional. A crudely carved padlock with a simple mechanism is one of a couple of examples in the collection. In some cases these can be quite decorative giving them some curiosity value to the Westerners. Wooden combs of various sizes are also present, one of which is clearly dated to the nineteenth century. Spoons of mother of pearl, underglaze blue and wood have been preserved, we must presume, not as collectables but as utility items, although we know much finer spoons were available to the Westerners in this period. A writing board with simple crude decoration is in a poor state of preservation.

We have evidence in the collection of spoons and utility items made to a high standard of craftsmanship, often imitating European models. These items represent the other end of the spectrum in that they are probably cheap non-export pieces, easily acquired at the various Treaty ports. It is possible to speculate that Harper-Parker may have brought them back for didactic reasons.

Chinese costume: The Kinder collection

The clipper 'Celestial' (Master, A. Palmer) left Shanghai 8 May 1852 arriving in Liverpool 22 September 1852 carrying amongst other things 6 crepe shawls and 2 silk dresses (by implication European style ones rather than Chinese). One costume in the Liverpool Museum collection belonged to a member of the de Larrinaga shipping family who ran a shipping line to the Far East from Liverpool. It has been well worn and probably functioned as a house coat.

The donors of the main costume collection in Liverpool Museum were a Mr and Mrs Kinder who gave it to the Museum in the 1950s. Claude William Kinder, born 1852, was eighty-three when he died on 9 August 1936. He had been a pioneer of railway construction in China and for thirty-one years the general manager and engineer-in-chief of the Imperial Chinese railway. He was son of Major William Kinder formerly master of the Mint at Hong Kong. In 1873 Claude Kinder was appointed Assistant Engineer of the Imperial Japanese Railways and in 1878 he went to China as

resident engineer and engineer-in-chief of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company and was later appointed engineer-in-chief and general manager of the Imperial railways of North China. He was also advisory engineer of the Peking-Mukden railway. He built the first locomotive and the first railway of standard gauge in China. He served on the civil staff of the Imperial Chinese railway in 1901. Retiring in 1909 he was offered three years' engagement as advisory engineer in London. He declined because he felt that the Railway Bureau was acting against China's true interests. He was made C.M.G. in 1900 and a mandarin of the Red Button of the second class in 1905, and he also received the Order of the Double Dragon.²⁵

It would seem likely that the collection of Chinese costume which was amassed by Kinder and given to the Museum several years after his death in 1954 was actually put together in China, although there is a great deal of evidence to support the sale of Chinese garments in Britain during the twentieth century in department stores such as Harrods, London. Once again it would be termed a "treaty port culture" collection as opposed to "trade".

For the purposes of this study Chinese costume has been considered as China Trade although strictly speaking it makes no concession to Western usage. The designation of "trade" does not exclusively define objects which are adapted for Western usage, or specifically designed for it. It is possible that in many cases the dragon robes were worn by Westerners as casual attire, and the fact that these items came back in such quantities proves that they were highly marketable and fashionable at the time and therefore by definition "trade".

Steegman comments that Chinese costumes were worn by Westerners in their homes during the eighteenth century as much for comfort as fashion. The costumes manifested themselves in a pastiche of oriental styles with Turkish slippers and turbans.²⁶ There is a portrait of Lord Sandwich wearing just such an outfit painted by Highmore in 1740 in the National Portrait Gallery. General Gordon was also painted wearing a costume which was given to him and is still preserved in a London collection. In the earlier

²⁵ Obituary published in *The Times* August 10, 1936.

²⁶ Steegman, 1968. p.39.

discussion concerning America, mention was also made of the Americans wearing Chinese robes on an official occasion, when in Chapter One reference was made to Chinese costume being worn by the merchants for the opening of the East India Marine Hall.²⁷

In China on occasion a Westerner might conform to Chinese dress, but the occurrence was rare enough for Thomson to make mention of it to Nell:

December 5th 1859

We are almost certain to come to London again as we cannot get A cargo for Liverpool so you will better have your chest packed up in time. I am happy to inform you that I was in Church last night for the first time since leaving Newport, it was on board of A ship & the minister A Scotch man in A Chinese Dress his name is Burns, he wanders from place to place among the Chinese sometimes well treated and sometimes ill treated, other times rob[b]ed or in prison...

Mention has already been made of the evidence from private orders for costumes, the following quotations illustrate pieces of entirely Chinese style and shawls of various colours.

Crepe Shawls²⁸

to be embroidered on good Crepe - A handsome contrast between the embroidery and the ground, and between the various colours of the embroidery. The shawls of Sovereign in 1841 have been the prettiest received here and his last much to be preferred in the execution of the shawl order. Old style patterns are to be avoided. Tulips, sunflowers, pineapples, bunches of grapes, all interspersed with the pattern smaller flowers. will answer, as well flowery vines, large and graceful leaves -- flowers plants; leaves and vines should alone constitute the embroidery and the most original the more neat and pretty the arrangement and more valuable the shawl here --. The colour of the shawl to be designated on the bottom of its Curton. Size of the Curton should be for the best shawls and large 1/2 Mara Square for 2nd size Shawls 2 inches less in size 8 Childrens shawls 1/3 mara Square--All to have handsome centre pieces--

Assortment of colours grounds and fringes for large shawls and no. of shawls for each colour

²⁷ National Park Service Salem, 1987. p. 57.

²⁸ Order Book A7 149. p. 42.

Grounds	Embroidery	Fringes
4 Dark coffee	various colors	1 Turkish Blue
White		1 Silver
Green		2 Imperial
4 Light Coffee	idem	1 Silver White
		2 Imperial Green
		1 Turkish Blue
		etc..

Weacher & Co. Quarterly Indent

We have on order for a Chinese Lady's dress of fashion complete with shoes. Will you therefore procure us one and send it by return of steamer. It is for a European and we would suggest a full medium size.

We copy our correspondent's order which we beg you will meet as far as possible. Kindly have the box tin lined and secured and hurry it off with a memo of charges.²⁹

The comprehensive range of the Kinder collection of costume suggests that this was not a random accumulation of exotic items but the result of a systematic approach comparable with that of Joseph Mayer and A. W. Franks. A distinction should be made between systematic collecting of this kind and the haphazard acquisition of curiosities and exotica which is also represented by other Liverpool collectors.

A selection of sleeve borders from ladies' gowns in the collection [Plate 47]³⁰ represents items which were attractive to the Europeans for their aesthetic qualities and which often found their way on to walls in the form of framed pictures; such framed examples are still preserved in the Liverpool collections. Some of the pieces in the Kinder collection are interesting because they are in their painted form awaiting embroidering, which gives us a good example of the stages of manufacture involved.

Not surprisingly, it is the "dragon robes" which are the best preserved in the

²⁹ Order Book A7, 156. p.89.

³⁰ Sleeve borders 58.5 x 13 cm. 19th century [Kinder collection, Liverpool Museum]

Liverpool collection. These were part of the costume *qi fu*, which was a less formal style of court dress³¹ and was a side-fastening, full-length garment that was belted at the waist with composite sleeves and horse-hoof cuffs. The rank of the wearer can be deduced from the colours and the number of dragons, either *long* (five-clawed) or *mang* (four-clawed), but only during the earlier part of the Qing dynasty.

The Kinder collection also preserves costumes that have not been made up and cut out [Plate 48]³². Perhaps the Westerners in some cases made pieces up after importation or maybe in other cases they brought the silk back without having regard to the appropriateness of the embroidery pattern.

To denote rank, a hat finial of differing coloured glass or stone was used. By the early Qianlong period, a tassel was used made from twisted red silk cord and a single red cord looped over the jewel, this type being most popularly seen in this collection. First rank was represented by opaque plain red, second opaque red engraved, third transparent blue, fourth opaque blue, fifth transparent white, sixth opaque white, seventh plain gilt, eighth engraved gilt, ninth silver. A variety of these insignia is preserved in the collection.

Some of the shoes in the collection were worn by men, although the majority appear to be women's. A pair of *ma xue* knee-high riding boots is preserved in the collection with thick white soles made of compressed cotton and leather. There are many women's shoes, mainly made for bound feet, and some with the platform soles. It seems reasonable to conclude that with a few possible exceptions these items were not intended to be worn by the recipients.

³¹ Cammann S. *China's Dragon Robes* (New York, 1952) p. 22.

³² Uncut material 27 x 29.75 cm. 19th century [54.145.82, Kinder collection, Liverpool Museum]

Chinese export fans

On the other hand, there is no doubt that in the nineteenth century Chinese fans were imported in order to be used. Susan Mayor cites two different types of fan: from the 17th century onwards those produced for internal consumption and those for export to Europe via Canton and India.³³ Innumerable examples of Chinoiserie fans being produced in Europe at a concurrent period show the popularity and the similarities in stylistic decoration on the fans that suggest that the exchange of artefacts between the two countries involved fairly rapid transfer of motifs.

The Chinese sepia decorated figures sketched on top of one of the fans are very similar to some Chinoiserie examples. Rich brightly coloured floral and figurative scenes enchanted the Europeans and bright colours dominate the fans, certainly of the nineteenth century. An indication of a later production date is that, the more crowded the decoration, usually the later the date of the fan. The numerous examples of Mandarin fans in the collections show the popularity of these from the 1820s onwards [Plates 49 & 50]³⁴. They also show how the Europeans' adaptation and assimilation of Chinese motifs was based upon examples of Chinese export wares which in their turn were a result of Chinese attempts to accommodate to their market demands.³⁵

One of the finest ivory brisé fans in the collection dates from the eighteenth century and shows finely carved details of figure scenes in pavilions and landscapes with a monogram in a classical cartouche in the centre [Plate 51]³⁶. The fineness of carving on such pieces is outstanding and makes an interesting comparison with the more heavily carved pieces in the collection.³⁷

The fans in the collection give us a good idea of the chronological development of China Trade fans. The eighteenth-century ones are

³³ Mayor, S. *Collecting Fans* (London, 1980) p. 81.

³⁴ 49. Fan, Mandarin, in original box, L. 30 cm. 19th century [40.47.1 Liverpool Museum]

50. Fan, Mandarin, pierced tortoiseshell sticks, L. 28 cm. 19th century [53.76.32 Liverpool Museum]

³⁵ Ibid. p. 87.

³⁶ Fan, ivory brisé, L. 19 cm. 18th century [1991.121.81 Liverpool Museum]

³⁷ 1991.121.81

delicately hand-painted on paper usually with pierced but not painted sticks. The later ones are more elaborate; they consist of different kinds of sticks, sandalwood or ivory or tortoiseshell in the examples shown. They are also decorated with the Mandarin fan decoration of textile and ivory appliqué, the ivory representing the figures' faces. The busy Chinese scenes that are depicted on them are also important in the development of Chinoiserie and it was the exploitation of scenes of this kind which was to have a major effect on European decorative art of the period.

It is interesting that this kind of figure representation came to dominate the export scene during the nineteenth century whilst the earlier floral and animal-decorated fans or with delicate figure decoration are very different in their stylistic content. In this period the importation of fans from China was dominated by the English and French markets.

Western-style clothing

A few of the items in the collection were made specifically for Western use, for example the Smeeton waistcoat [Plate 41]³⁸. The silk at the front of the waistcoat is ivory white with green leaved, brown stemmed embroidered flower tendrils bordering the button holes and the collar. This piece appears never to have been worn and remained in the hands of the Liverpool family to which it belonged until 1991. The waistcoat may have been made up either in Canton or in Britain upon its arrival, although the former is more likely. Unlike the example in the Peabody Museum Salem, the Smeeton waistcoat is embroidered directly on to the silk whilst the Peabody example is embroidered on to panels. This leaves further room for speculation about the piece being made up in China whereas the embroidered panels on the Peabody example may have come back separately and been incorporated on to the waistcoat at a later date.

Another item which we know was made in China was the pair of leather boots made of composite layers of leather to build up the sole. It is relatively unusual to have such utility items preserved, as they would have been more frequently destroyed by wear, and this could be the reason for their

³⁸ The Smeeton waistcoat. L. 49 cm. W. 40 cm. late 19th century [1993.43 Liverpool Museum]

infrequency in the Liverpool collection. A cotton shirt in a Western design is also preserved in the collection [Plate 52]³⁹. This piece is very full sleeved with fine stitching.⁴⁰ Like the boots, this type of item would normally have been destroyed by wear and examples at the time would probably have been more numerous.

The presence of a large number of items in the class of Clothing and Accessories is particularly interesting. This class includes costume, fans and Western-style clothes. There is good evidence that the Chinese clothes were bought to be worn, given the Victorian liking for "dressing-up", one reference in the order books of Jardine Matheson to a Chinese dress intended to be worn by a Western woman, and the fact that portraits exist of people wearing them. Their functional value may therefore be regarded as high and their value as memorabilia may also have been high; this latter would, of course, depend on whether they were bought as gifts or for resale. Their survival to the present date in the possession of local families suggests that initially they were certainly invested with personal associations.

Metalwork

Metalwork represents yet another section of the trade reflecting the exchange of patterns of design and the effect of varying fashions. The categories of metal represented in the NMGM collections include silver, pewter, paktong⁴¹, copper and lead. Of all pieces the one with the clearest Liverpool provenance is the Rawson tray [Plate 53]⁴², an acquisition to the collections in 1993. On this tray an inscription records its presentation to Samuel Rawson who joined the Masonic Lodge 109 (Calcutta), installed on 26.9.1841. He was transferred to Canton on 17.4.1845 and became the Provincial Grand Master for China 8.5.1847. He resigned in 1853. The tray records the following:

³⁹ European style cotton shirt, L. 58.5 cm. sleeves L. 63 cm. each 19th century
[1991.121.129, Larrinaga collection, Liverpool Museum]

⁴⁰ A similar example is illustrated in Nelson, 1985. p. 94.

⁴¹ A copper, nickel, zinc alloy.

⁴² Rawson Tray, silver, 56.5 x 43.5 cm. 19th century [1996.132 Liverpool Museum]

The Royal Sussex Lodge
No. 735
To Their Right Worshipful Brother
Samuel Rawson
RGM
of British Masons in
China
Canton AL. V MDCCCLIII

The tray is large with a raised foliate decoration to the lip of the rim. The decoration is highly competent and rhythmic. The inside is engraved with foliations with a cartouche in which the above inscription can be found.

The earliest known traded examples of Chinese silver date from the seventeenth century.⁴³ The traditions of manufacturing silver for domestic use in China date from many centuries before and this tradition continued in parallel to the export one. The sources of silver for the craftsmen at Canton and Shanghai in the period under examination here were the mines in China, Mexican currency, Western silver and tableware, and silver derived from the opium trade.⁴⁴ Much of the silver entering the export trade did so through private orders and purchases.⁴⁵ Thus substantive records of exact quantities are hard to find.⁴⁶ The silver was carefully packaged by the Chinese craftsman, a condiment set in the Liverpool collection in their original box shows the way in which these objects were generally transported [Plate 54]⁴⁷. Another example in the original box is a demi-parure of blond tortoiseshell dated on the base of the box to 13th July 1883 [Plate 55]⁴⁸.

Foreign demand for metals such as silver was highest for flatware such as knives and forks, the next most popular items being equipment for serving

⁴³ Forbes, Kernan, Wilkins, 1975. p.5.

⁴⁴ Marlowe, Alan James *Chinese Export Silver* (London, 1990) p. 14.

⁴⁵ Forbes, Kernan, Wilkins 1975. p. 43.

⁴⁶ Ibid. pp. 44-45.

⁴⁷ Silver condiment set in original box, 14 x 20 cm. 19th century [1991.121.35 Liverpool Museum]

⁴⁸ Demi-parure of blond tortoiseshell set in silver filigree in original black lacquer box. Label on back dated to 13th July 1883 with the label by Le Chin, Canton, L. 20.5 cm. [1991.121.58 Liverpool Museum]

tea and coffee [Plate 56]⁴⁹. In general a huge range of objects is represented.⁵⁰ The Liverpool collections are representative of local demand in both range and quantity. Many of the styles are European, for example elements of neoclassicism, represented in different metals, are apparent in the candlesticks [Plate 57]⁵¹, standing figures and finer decorations on various pieces. Chinese themes are recurrent in the forms for example of dragons, bamboo, "tree rats".

The "bamboo" tea pot [Plate 58]⁵² shows the use of the bamboo theme fully exploited. The handle and the spout have become curved bamboo, the spout tapering gently towards the end with a balance and grace of form. A silver cup [Plate 59]⁵³ preserves an inscription telling us that it was won in a pony race; its dedication reads:

Stewards Tankard
won by
Mr. A.J. Spottiswoode's
Pony
Daintie Davie
Singapore 23rd February 1843

Although the decoration forms a band, this covers much of the exterior of the cup. The small creatures dashing in and out of the tight fronds are often referred to as tree rats or squirrels; they are a theme which occurs on metalwork and ceramics alike.

A pair of standing pewter figures is from a local twentieth-century collection, that of Sir Douglas Crawford. Sir Douglas collected mainly through London dealers and his collection is representative of the continuing collecting tradition in the city after the end of the nineteenth century. He collected mainly Chinese cloisonné, but the standing pewter men were also in his possession. As a pair, they were designed to hold

⁴⁹ Table wares, napkin ring, Dia. 5 cm. [1991.121.52 Liverpool Museum], sugar tongs, L.13 cm. [1991.121.56 Liverpool Museum], spoons, L.14.5 cm. [1991.121.37 Liverpool Museum], salt cellar, L. 7 cm. [1991.121.54 Liverpool Museum].

⁵⁰ Marlowe, 1990. pp.14-15.

⁵¹ Neoclassical paktong candlestick, Ht. 30 cm. 19th century [1991.121.135 Liverpool Museum]

⁵² Silver tea pot with romanized mark K.W., L. 25.5 cm. 19th century [1991.121.31 Liverpool Museum]

⁵³ Steward's cup, Ht. 17 cm. [1991.121.144 Liverpool Museum]

candlesticks. Sharp features, with enigmatic smiles, stare blankly ahead. In their attenuated hands they hold a gourd-shaped urn in which the candle would be placed. They are an interesting example of the Chinese artist's representation of Western lineaments, if not of the Chinese concept of the European. They are manufactured from a pewter stem wound around with sheet pewter to depict their garments, top hats and tails. These were coloured in red and black, some of the coloration well preserved. Their feet are planted squarely on a base, the standard form of which is almost identical with the bases on other similar standing pewter figures. Perhaps they were all manufactured in the same workshop to a standard formula. They probably bear makers' marks but unfortunately their bases have been filled in by a pewter plate.

Stylistic variations in the production of silverware began to occur after 1842. With the establishment of the Treaty Ports regional variations arise, so that a "Shanghai style" can be said to emerge, notable for its large areas of undecorated metal and emphatic relief.⁵⁴ If Marlowe can, as he suggests, distinguish one Treaty-port style from others, this would go some way towards implying the existence of distinct Treaty Port preferences. This in turn makes the conjecture possible that each Treaty Port in time developed its own separate stylistic traits and tastes. Here we have to set against the undoubted inward-looking ethos of an expatriate community the fact that communications were continually improving along the China coast. It might be a simpler explanation to see the apparent stylistic differences as reflections of the choices made by schools of Chinese artists and craftsmen working inside those communities.

This is a further example of a question that arises throughout the history of Treaty-port manufacture of goods for export to Europe. Are we to attribute the developments that took place in the nature and quantity of goods to changes in demand within a relatively isolated and internally fluid society, or to the Chinese craftsman's need to satisfy his own tastes and inclinations? It seems likely that both factors need to be taken into account. A third factor which perhaps exercised more influence overall is the changing nature of the overseas market for Chinese export goods arising from those shifts in the patterns of patronage which we have already observed.

⁵⁴ Marlowe, 1990. p. 16.

Chinese Games, Puzzles and Carved Figures.

In a discussion which centres upon the new leisure of the middle classes and the leisure pursuits of the colonists, games seem to occupy a separate area in themselves. What is of interest here is that the games represented in the collections at Liverpool show a proportion of Chinese games alongside export games. The clipper 'Vision' (Master, G. Cobb) left Foochow 13 July 1856 arriving in Liverpool 19 November 1856 carrying among other things 3 boxes of toys, 2 lacquered chess tables and 1 box of curiosities. The nature of the goods carried is not specified in enough detail for us to know what types of games were being conveyed, but an examination of the games in the Museum collection might give some idea.

Games were an important part of community life and entertainment. On a large scale, recreation time would be spent at horse races and, on a smaller scale, games would be played during short leisure intervals. For the most part, Chinese games came into Britain as curiosities and were not normally played by the British seamen. Games played by the sailors included Pope Joan, where the mother of pearl counters were manufactured in China in various shapes according to their value in the game; there are incomplete nineteenth-century Pope Joan sets in the Liverpool Museum collection [Plate 60]⁵⁵. Games of more remote Eastern origin such as chess and Mah Jong were also played by the Europeans as well as the Chinese. Mah Jong is recorded as coming into fashion in Europe in the 1880s, although the date of its introduction remains uncertain.⁵⁶

Pith paintings occasionally show games being played by the Chinese. Clearly these pictures were equally of interest to the Europeans as the depictions of trades examined earlier. One painting on silk shows people gambling on the numbers which will show on the throw of a die. A pith painting shows women playing a territorial game referred to in Japanese as "go" in which

⁵⁵ Gaming box, lacquered, 38 x 31 cm. 19th century [1991.121.70 Liverpool Museum]

⁵⁶ Mah Jong was a game mostly considered as an export game during the period concerned, although it had originated in China. It had suffered a decline in popularity within China and was to reemerge as a popular game later on, and has remained so until today. A Chinese story relates how nine sea faring brothers invented the game to cure their sea sickness. Worcester, 1971. p. 39.

the object was to gain territory from the opponent [Plate 61].⁵⁷ In another game elongated counters were thrown, each possessing an individual value indicated by the shape on one end. The object of the exercise was to tip them out and then pick them up without moving the others.

Some of the games which appear in the collection may have been played in Indonesia rather than China; for example counters which have Chinese characters written upon them in underglaze blue and may well have been manufactured in China though not necessarily played there. In the game "tong bao" Chinese characters are written on the die indicating a direction.⁵⁸ This probably derived from the game played by tossing a coin and guessing its directional orientation. The game may have been played more popularly in Thailand, or generally in Indonesia. There is no evidence remaining to record the date or means by which this piece entered the collection, the original acquisition number having been damaged or lost in the war.

There are three complete, or nearly complete, Chinese card games remaining in the Liverpool Museum collection. These represent yet another side of the gaming market. [Plate 62]⁵⁹ shows a card game played along the same principles as dominoes.⁶⁰ Values are indicated pictorially at either end of the card. The cards have been made from paper and varnished over with a substance which hardened them and made them more durable. The game in Plate 63⁶¹ shows the cards in their original box only about 9cm long. Four suits are represented in the colours yellow, red, white and green. The cards are bound by a piece of paper which tells us that we should beware

⁵⁷ Pith painting, gambling game "go", 24 x 20 cm. 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum] This game is discussed in detail in Culin, S. *Games of the Orient* first published Philadelphia 1895, Tuttle (Vermont, 1958), pp.91-100. "pa-tok" in Korea, "wai k'i [wei ch'i]" in China. With two players, two sets of different coloured men, the board is divided like a chess board but with many more divisions, 18 by 18. The game is played on the intersections. In China the games were printed on to paper with room for personal annotations. The object is to occupy as much of the board as possible.

⁵⁸ This game is discussed in detail in Culin, S. *Chinese Games with Dice and Dominoes* First publ. as report of United States National Museum Washington 1893, (Washington, 1972), p. 507. Also discussed in Ball, J. Dyer *Things Chinese* (London, 1892), pp. 524-525. One of the sets in Liverpool Museum seems to have a rod inside to support the die, this may have been for cheating, this subject is also discussed by Ball. Reference is made to yet another similar game in Dobree, C. T. *Gambling Games of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur, 1955), pp. 121-122.

⁵⁹ Cards, domino type, 11.2 x 3.4 cm. each 19th century [1981.876.13 Liverpool Museum]

⁶⁰ One of the cards in this pack seems to belong to a different system discussed in Culin, S. *Korean Games* First publ. Philadelphia 1895, (London, 1991), p. 144.

⁶¹ Cards in box, 9 x 4.5 cm. 19th century/early 20th century [42.50.13 Liverpool Museum]

of poorer quality imitations on the market. Another card game “guan” would appear to be a three-suit game. The cards were really a form of paper currency. The cards had different values and these cards are unreinforced strips of paper with a characteristic black backing.⁶²

As already seen in the quotation concerning the sale of Captain Crawford’s collection, puzzles from China were clearly very attractive to the Europeans. [Plate 64]⁶³ shows a puzzle in which pieces of string are drawn through cylinders of ivory pierced longitudinally.⁶⁴ The Read/Thomson collection contains another puzzle [Plate 65].⁶⁵ Concentric balls are curiosity which was popular in the West. The piece illustrated [Plate 66]⁶⁶ is an elaborate example in ivory. It demonstrates the skill and dexterity of the Chinese craftsman and the exact method of their manufacture still remains a mystery. The Read/Thomson collection gives us an opportunity to attribute a context for the items coming over to Europe; they were probably gifts with a value as curiosities.

Other carved items are the swinging articulated ivory and bone men. One [Plate 67]⁶⁷ belongs to the Read/Thomson collection. The small articulated man dangles from an bar by his hands. Plate 68⁶⁸ shows an example in a better state of preservation. Further items which we shall consider here as games are the shadow puppets. These appear to be painted upon horn and are articulated with metal guides.

Miniature clay figurines appear to have been popular. It would be easy to exclude them from this study except for the fact that one particular example is recorded as having entered the collection in the middle nineteenth century, and it is probable therefore that similar pieces in the collection may

⁶² Similar games are illustrated in Culin, 1958. pp. 128-147.

⁶³ Puzzle, ivory threaded with silk string, W. 7 cm. late 19th century [1981. 876 Liverpool Museum]

⁶⁴ Similar example ‘The Nine Connected Ring Puzzle’ Culin, 1958. p. 31. ‘The Delay Guest Instrument’. Most probably made in Canton as was example in illustration.

⁶⁵ Puzzle, ivory, W. 8.5 cm. late 19th century [50.30.396 R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]

⁶⁶ Concentric balls, carved ivory, Dia. 10 cm. L. 45.5 cm. max. 19th century [56.27.854]

⁶⁷ Swinging man, bone toy, Ht. 7 cm. max. 19th century [50.30.393, R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]

⁶⁸ Swinging man, bone toy, W. 7.2 cm. Ht. 9 cm. max. 19th century [1981.876.115 Liverpool Museum]

be from the same date. Figures made from a grey clay would have been made in Sekwan in Southern China. There is an example showing a man holding an umbrella and a fan and an even smaller example in the same distinctive dark clay with limited pigment. It is possible that the other pieces, which are stylistically very similar, were manufactured around the same time. Similar items made out of a white clay may have different origins. These pieces are very small with more of a range of colours.

Examination of the articles described in this chapter brings to light an important distinction between two kinds of collecting, both of which are strongly represented in the Merseyside Chinese collections. On the one hand we have the haphazard accumulation of Chinese items which arises either from a relatively uninformed approach to Chinese goods or as a result of several years' residence in the Far East. On the other hand we have the systematic and, by contemporary standards, well informed collection of articles within a specific range, exemplified by collectors such as Mayer. Inevitably a museum with strong local connections acquires examples of both kinds of collecting and these collections are of equal interest in drawing up an accurate picture of the social mores of the period.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

The first thesis is that Liverpool's participation in, and contribution to the development of, the nineteenth-century China Trade was of greater significance than is generally recognized. The thesis proposed to show the combination of factors which brought this about.

The conclusions which follow were arrived at, in Part One: by examining the changes in technology during the nineteenth century in so far as they affected the China Trade; by consulting private and public records in the port of Liverpool and elsewhere in relation to the commodities traded; by seeking evidence in contemporary documents of the rapid rise in Liverpool's prosperity in connection with the China Trade.

The nineteenth century is recorded as a period of rapid developments in shipping and commerce especially in the so-called out-ports and the manufacturing centres adjacent to them.

We have seen in Chapter One that, where cities such as Liverpool saw themselves denied access to trading facilities by the East India Company with its main port London, they resented the assumption of privilege which marked the Company's dealings and there was inevitable agitation and lobbying. The contribution of Liverpool to this agitation is attested by contemporary publications, as is its contribution to the developments in shipping particularly in relation to the lucrative China Trade. The first step was to loosen the grip of the East India Company on trade with China, which was felt to be "the most lucrative branch of British commerce in the East".

The American example

The example set by American traders and shipping merchants is shown to have spurred on the Liverpool merchants to rival them. Later improvements in shipping such as the introduction of clipper ships impelled British shipbuilders to emulate and even improve upon their example. It is likely also that the distraction caused by the Civil War enabled the British to seize more opportunities to improve their trading position. A

further parallel has been found in the rise of new seaports on the American eastern seaboard which preceded the sudden growth of the British out-ports by a generation.

It has been pointed out that the social structure in the United States differed from that in Britain, as was inevitable with the formation of a new society. To some extent the equally new society of British out-ports such as Liverpool presented a similar model. The enterprise of American merchants in seeking new sources of commercial wealth proved to be a powerful example, though their equal enterprise in seeking new products to export was less influential

The role of private trading

The private trading which had gone on in the Company's time - for example in the practice of selling surplus supplies of food at ports of call - is seen to have continued through the age of the clipper ships. With the introduction of steamers with their increased cargo space, this practice is shown to have grown, since, for example, ships' captains had more time in port for private trading. It is to this private trading that the NMGM is indebted for many of the bequests of Chinese art objects which were made by local families with connections in the trade. The extensive nature of the Liverpool collections of art from the Far East and from South-east Asia suggest a growing society of considerable affluence. External authorities testify to the commercial esteem in which Liverpool merchants were held at this time. The conclusions point to a brief period during which Liverpool exercised great influence through its rapid and successful economic growth, an affluence to which its major participation in the China Trade contributed significantly.

London's loss was Liverpool's gain

In Chapter Two we have seen that the letters of Horatio Hardy in the archives of Jardine Matheson and Company show the resistance in London circles to the loss of the Company franchise and the widening of access to the China Trade, particularly if this should involve the participation of the out-ports in that trade. Hardy was chiefly concerned with what he saw as the loss of the tea trade to London, but the Jardine Matheson archives also contain

abundant private orders for a diversity of objects of Chinese manufacture, many of which can be paralleled from the NMGM collections.

Missing from Hardy's accounts is reference to the smaller trading vessels and any indication of how significant their contribution was to the China Trade. Another omission from his account is the fact that indirect trading with China existed in the hands of private merchants before 1834. Hardy however confirms before the loss of the franchise that Liverpool was a potential rival to London in the trade.

The Jardine Matheson archives provide information about delivery dates, payment on return and the quoting of ceiling prices and it is clear that the order itself was to be taken as a guide rather than a specific instruction. Clearly a great deal was left to the agent's initiative.

The transition to steam

Alfred Holt of Liverpool saw the possibilities of using steam on the China route and invested in a number of steam ships which soon dominated the China trade from Liverpool. The Liverpool sea captains Thomson and Kidd, whose careers in the China Trade covered much of the period under discussion, provide evidence in their letters and private journals not only of the hazards of the trade but also of the conditions under which the ships involved in the trade operated. It is clear, for example, that the advent of steam ships complicated rather than simplified the processes involved in loading cargo.

Captain Thomson described the mixed reception accorded to the new steamers and also provided evidence of private trading on his own behalf and that of associates and friends. It is noticed that his letters to his wife deal mainly with his private trading activities. It is clear from these letters that Thomson still followed what must have been recognized practice in the days of clipper ships in that he tended to wait about for a full complement of cargo even when this involved falling prices and a loss of profit on the tea carried. Captain Kidd on the other hand provides more information than Thomson on such matters as coaling stations en route, technical problems and the expense of repairs. The connection between the China Trade and the

holdings of the NMGM is made most clearly by the collection bequeathed to Liverpool Museum by Thomson's family.

The transition from sail to steam on the China Trade routes was relatively swift, as the Liverpool shipping records clearly attest. With the advent of steamers and the opening of the Suez Canal the journey time to China was shortened, enabling wives and families to join their men in the new Treaty Ports. Through Thomson's letters we obtain glimpses of the new society growing up at these key locations along the China coast.

The changes in the trade after 1834 summarized

It becomes clear that nineteenth-century trade with China showed marked differences from the trade that took place in the previous century. This was largely due to the innovations in shipping which took place continually during the nineteenth century, the ending of the Company's trade monopoly, the ceding of the Treaty Ports to Britain and, finally, the opening of the Suez Canal. In all these developments Liverpool played a major role by exploiting the changes to its commercial advantage. The nature of Liverpool's contribution can be estimated from shipping records, trade records, subjective documentation, first-hand accounts of trading conditions and through close examination of the China Trade holdings of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside.

Though there continued to be a collectors' market for Chinese artefacts, the changing nature of this market inevitably exerted new demands upon Chinese craftsmen. As we have seen, it is not enough simply to state that the nineteenth century resulted in a fall in standards. What took place was an increase in quantity of trade products. In fact the best of nineteenth-century wares were fully comparable with those from the eighteenth century.

From the evidence provided by the records of the Chinese Customs Service we see a growing interest in mounting exhibitions of Chinese artefacts in Europe. It is likely that this indicates an increasing Chinese interest in trade with Europe based upon a widening range of commodities. We have concluded that the tastes of the new Treaty Port societies and the sort of

goods that were made available by local craftsmen largely influenced what Thomson and his fellow seafarers bought in the Treaty Ports for disposal in their home ports. This in turn has suggested a re-appraisal of nineteenth-century Chinese export objects.

* * *

The second part of the thesis draws upon the China Trade collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside to suggest that it was the conditions under which the nineteenth-century China Trade was carried on that controlled the nature of the Chinese artefacts available.

In order to demonstrate the validity of this argument, it was necessary to examine the collections in detail. The suggestion made was that this apparently random selection of artefacts reflected trading conditions and the social network underlying them. In a prosperous society such as Liverpool became, the supply of art objects, as with more overtly commercial goods, tends to be governed by demand and this is particularly true of the China Trade where these objects had to be imported and to compete with other important cargoes for space on board ship.

In Chapter Three we observed that the period under consideration largely coincided with what has been termed the Late China Trade. We have also noted that the term "China Trade" when applied to artefacts exported at this period has to include objects which were not fashioned specifically for export but which were included in the dynamics of the trade either by being acquired during residence in the Treaty Ports or by being deemed collectable.

In considering the mechanisms of trade during the Late China Trade period account has been taken of the preceding era from 1785 to 1840 regarded by some as the characteristic China Trade period. This was the period in which the trade was dominated, so far as Britain was concerned, by the East India Company. During this period a number of notable collections had been amassed, two examples of which have been considered in the thesis. It is suggested that these collections formed models of which later private collections were to take account in pre-figuring subsequent developments in taste.

A distinction has been made between three kinds of collection: private collection; collection for sale or gifts; and didactic collection, the last being a characteristically nineteenth-century phenomenon. It has been argued that museums in general contain examples of all three types of collection, but that the collections of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside are made up mainly of the second type.

Changing style in export products

The publication in accessible form of factual information about China beginning with the last decade of the eighteenth century affected not only early collections but also public appreciation of Chinese artefacts. We have seen that tangible evidence exists in furniture, textiles, porcelain and silver, of a shift of emphasis in the period under consideration from the faithful copying of western styles to the gradual introduction of authentic Chinese decorative elements - to be distinguished from the fantastic chinoiserie of the previous century.

We have also observed that, with the establishment of the Treaty Ports and increased middle-class entrepreneurial involvement in the China Trade, acquaintance at first hand with the Chinese themselves affected life-styles and taste within the expatriate communities. Evidence has been shown of the formation of groups of craftsmen within the Treaty Ports who catered largely for the residents and subsequently for the passing trade of seafarers bent on private trading.

We have examined the nature of this Treaty Port society whose demands resulted in a merger of artistic traditions and we have observed from Robert Thomson's letters evidence of increased involvement of seafarers with the Treaty Port residents. Parallels have been drawn between these expatriate communities and the new urban society being formed in the out-ports such as Liverpool and Glasgow. It has emerged that reciprocal influences operated in the Treaty Ports and that these increased with the presence of expatriate residents together with uprooted Cantonese Chinese and a widely distributed Straits Chinese population.

The conclusion is that the accession of the nineteenth-century middle class to China Trade consumerism contributed to a shift in the nature and range of articles shipped back to Britain. In examining these objects a distinction can be made between items made for use and those having no utility value but of appeal to a growing collectors' market.

The classification of China Trade art objects

The thesis has offered a procedure for classification of artefacts within the Asian holdings of NMGM. The classification by Type has been based on published precedent and consists of three categories: Paintings, Furniture and Ornaments. The classification by Function also included three categories: Utility, Keepsakes and Decoration. Because of the importance of provenance in the NMGM collections, it was seen as necessary to modify the non-utility category by a further subdivision into memorabilia or keepsakes and purely ornamental items without identifiable personal association.

The use of European models

We have observed in Chapter Five that the use of European models in the production of paintings for export involved the adoption of a set of conventions by the Chinese craftsmen, conventions which clearly depended on customer demand. This in turn was largely dictated by prevailing fashions in Europe. It is clear, however, that with the best of these China Trade paintings we are not dealing with mere slavish imitation of European originals but with a robust and sophisticated fusion of styles. At this point we have noticed that personal associations and the function of artefacts as memorabilia extended beyond the realm of portrait painting to include objects which had been handled and used by the original owners.

A parallel has been traced between uprooted communities, who felt free to experiment and be eclectic in their choice of design, and the perhaps less aesthetically adventurous but certainly forward-looking mercantile communities of such ports as Liverpool. The suggestion is that resemblances between these two types of society were reflected in their parallel choices and in the demands they made upon Chinese craftsmen.

The re-emergence of Chinese style

We have also observed in nineteenth-century export painting an increasing interest in Chinese conventions, as if recognition was now being accorded to those characteristics of artefact production which were seen as native to China. This can also be seen as a growing confidence on the part of the Chinese in the value of their own artistic traditions as export material. At the same time we have seen evidence of wholesale manufacture of artefacts and of the consequent emergence of formulaic treatment for certain popular subjects.

In fact three distinct types of painting can be seen. First, we have the one-off portraits specially commissioned by customers who may have supplied a model for copying but more probably sat personally for the artist. Second, we have observed mass-produced, or partially mass-produced, genre pictures which were no doubt collected as curiosities and sold relatively cheaply. Third, we have products closely complying with Chinese standards of craftsmanship and perhaps aimed at an amateur collectors' market in very much the same way that limited editions of modern woodblock prints are offered for sale today in Japan.

Examples of the first category would be the portraits of Westerners and of their ships. In many of these the backgrounds conform to a formula, so that we may guess that more than one hand was at work in their production. In discussing the production of ship portraits we have taken account of the influence of the so-called pierhead painters active on the Liverpool waterfront at this time. These productions and their Chinese counterparts were aimed at a market of sea-goers who were perhaps more interested in details of design and rigging than in that depiction of natural phenomena which characterized much British painting of the time.

In the discussion of China Trade paintings we have observed the mutual influence of Chinese and European styles within a changing market and, with the shift in patronage, the gradual emergence of marked Chinese stylistic features. These features were somewhat more obvious when we examined China Trade furniture.

Popular culture and the exercise of choice

In Chapter Six we established that the nineteenth century saw the appearance of a number of popular guides to taste, as distinct from pattern books and guides to the construction of furniture. This was the period of popular education, seeing the rise of eminent lecturers who found ready audiences in the new industrial and mercantile centres. It has been suggested here that the views of Ruskin and to some extent those of William Morris too should be taken as reflecting rather than necessarily forming public opinion on the arts. It is this view that has guided our examination of Chinese export furniture in the period.

Much of this furniture came into Liverpool through the process of private trading, which was largely undocumented, but we have evidence from Robert Thomson's letters of his executing private commissions for friends and acquaintances and we are even able to identify a number of surviving pieces as his imports. Trade between the Treaty Ports themselves meant that exact places of origin for particular pieces cannot be identified with certainty. We have found that the Chinese themselves participated in this trading and we have to take account of their tastes also. To a great extent, though, the selection of items for export must have depended on the decision of ships' captains and their agents.

Chinese influences at work

We have seen that Chinese taste and in particular that of the Straits Chinese and Cantonese communities influenced the production of furniture. If, as we have suggested, demand is to some extent dependent on supply, it is to these communities that we must look for the formulation of prevailing modes in design, since they were linguistically and culturally close to the manufacturers and craftsmen if not identifiable with them. It becomes evident that itinerant craftsmen travelled during the nineteenth century between the Treaty Ports and these artisans no doubt ensured the spread of innovative techniques, always dependent on perception of commercial demand.

Given the improved communication in the latter part of the century, this raises the question, which must at best remain tentative: to what extent did movement of populations and trade groups contribute to the dynamic features of the trade and blur the stylistic differentiation which has been posited by certain scholars as a feature of Treaty Port isolation? Here we appear to have two factors working in opposition.

The characteristic heaviness of mass and ornamentation of nineteenth-century export furniture has been decribed in Chapter Six but from at least one item in the NMGM collections it is possible to establish that heaviness of construction was not necessarily incompatible with ease of transportation. It is clear that the need for an item to be disassembled for storage as cargo still influenced furniture design as it had done at an earlier period. The suggestion was made that this facility was compatible with traditional Chinese techniques of manufacture but was not necessarily a feature of lighter articles of furniture made for the Western market. It has also been suggested that, since traditional Chinese taste favoured simplicity and utility, heavy and ornate design is an example of the influence of Western on Chinese taste.

Taking the NMGM collections as our guide, we have concluded that examples of both kinds of furniture design were to be found in the Treaty Ports. An example of Chinese response to Western demands can be seen in the bamboo furniture for the use of which the Chinese had less enthusiasm than their European clients. On the other hand lacquer furniture with its high durability continued to be manufactured for home consumption as well as export.

Evidence from ornaments and curiosities

When we examined decorative art objects and accessories in Chapter Seven, we found them to constitute a high proportion of the Merseyside Museums' holdings and observed that the acquisition of such export items carried implications of social status. The impetus given to private collecting by this influx into Liverpool of China Trade art objects can be estimated with reference to the collections of prominent local citizens, notices in contemporary newspapers and journals of auctions of Chinese items and

the popularity of art discussions in the programmes of local learned societies.

The objects imported into Liverpool through the China Trade have been seen to fall into two groups, the cheaply made utility items, some of which are notable for their excellent workmanship, and the more typically Chinese items such as clothing and accessories. We have noticed, in addition, that many of the articles in the latter category were intended to be worn or were subverted to other uses not intended by their Chinese manufacturers. So items in the latter category are seen to be capable of subdivision into objects for use and articles which were clearly collectors' pieces. We have also seen further evidence of reciprocal influences at work in the decoration of such objects as fans.

At all stages during the period under investigation we observe an emphasis upon utility, even to the extent that aesthetic merit was subordinated to it. Though the latter part of the nineteenth century saw the rise of the Aesthetic Movement with its emphasis on art for art's sake, the weight of evidence to be drawn from the Merseyside collections suggests that in Liverpool, and probably in most manufacturing cities and seaports of the time, utility was a primary consideration. From the point of view of art history, this was by no means incompatible with traditional Chinese values.

What also emerges from this examination of the Chinese holdings of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside is the importance, and probably the singularity in this country, of these collections as examples of a neglected phase of China Trade export art.

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APPENDIX I

SHIPPING STATISTICS

CHINA-BOUND VESSELS LOADING AT THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL FROM JANUARY 1865 TO DECEMBER 1879.

The data recorded in this Appendix were taken from the Liverpool Bills of Entry 1865 to 1879,¹ in which the ships loading in the port of Liverpool are recorded. These records have been transcribed in order to show the rapid rise of steam traffic predominating over sail on the China Trade in the latter half of the period under discussion. The findings have been correlated into a graph at the end of the section.

After these dates a shift occurs. The ships belonging to Holt begin suddenly to call at the port of London before Liverpool, but this phase falls outside the period under discussion. During the period to which the records relate, listed ships occasionally call at the port of London before Liverpool. Analysis was also carried out on cargoes entering the port of Liverpool from China in ships of the Holt company in the period from the 1850s to 1870s, details from which research are quoted in the main body of the text.²

The following Tables record the ships bound for China ports berthed at the Port of Liverpool during the years indicated above. Information contained in the Columns is

- A Serial Number of My Record
- B Date of Arrival
- C Ports of Call on Outward Journey
- D Name of Ship
- E Name of Captain
- F Code Assigned on Record: Nationality Initial, Reference No. of Ship, Berthed.
- G Sail or Steam
- H Owners or Agents

Occasionally the Captain's name is left blank. This probably means that the Ship's Captaincy is about to be changed and the new Captain has not yet been appointed. Sometimes one Captain is indicated as responsible for two

¹ Liverpool Bills of Entry, Maritime Archives, Merseyside Maritime Museum.

² Chapter Five p.118, Chapter Six p.143, Chapter Seven p.184.

ships. This probably means that a Ship's Captain was on leave ashore, in which case no doubt the unloading and loading would be supervised by the First Mate but the ultimate responsibility is assigned to another Captain.

The dock in which a ship is berthed is usually given on the record, but not invariably. The abbreviations probably apply as follows.

DOCKS

A Alfred

B Brunswick

Bkhd Birkenhead

B - M Bramley Moore

Cr, Car, Cars Carriers

Hrcdm Herculaneum

K King's

Mpth, Mrpth Morpeth

N Nelson

P Prince's

Q Queen's

S Salthouse

Sdn Sandon

W Wellington

Wpg Wapping Basin

V Victoria

The years 1865 to 1870 are important for the transition from sail to steam in Liverpool and the bar chart appended to the records illustrates this graphically.

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	5/1/65	Hong Kong	Everest	E Curwen	B571 A		T & J Brocklebank
2	3/1/65	Shanghai	Finzel	G Murray	B487 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or E C Friend
3	4/2/65	Hong Kong Whampoa	Veronica	K S Douglas	B332 P	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebank
4	4/2/65	Shanghai	Patna	?	B325 P	sail	McDiarmid or E C Friend
5	1/2/65	Singapore H Kong Shanghai Yokohama	Shaftsbury	?	B524 Q	steam	Wakefield Nash & Co
6	20/2/65	Shanghai	Sea Mew	J Cummings	B510 Bkhd	sail	McDiarmid & J Smith Jun.
7	29/3/65	Hong Kong Whampoa	Golden Sunset	E H Tidmarsh	B627 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
8	31/3/65	Shanghai	Sea Snake	J Pephram	B425 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Bromham
9	19/4/65	Hong Kong Whampoa	Corea	J Garry	B581 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
10	28/4/65	Shanghai	Petchelee	G Foster	B356 P	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
11	17/5/65	Shanghai	Aerolite	R E Alleyne	B911 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
12	3/6/65	Penang	Avery	J Grace	B343 S	sail	Greenshields & Co or J Glynn
13	5/7/65	Shanghai	Lockett	J T Topham	B615 P	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Locketts
14	7/8/65	Hong Kong Whampoa	Ariel	J Reay	B852	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
15	10/8/65	Hong Kong	Her Majesty	Seymour	B1112 Bkhd	sail	Tibby & Coupland
16	30/8/65	Hong Kong Whampoa	Sir Lancelot	D M Dougall	B885 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
17	29/9/65	Shanghai	Illimari	G Leggett	B409 Wpg	sail	McD'mid Gr'nshields & T R Clarke
18	27/10/65	Shanghai	Tewkesbury	J Fowler	B1051 Bkhd	sail	Suter McNeill Edge & Co
19	26/10/65	Penang Singapore	?	J Holies	F 314 P	sail	Greenshields & Browne
20	18/11/65	Shanghai	Chalgrove	J Armstrong	B509 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Lamport
21	8/12/65	Hong Kong	Everest	J Clarke	B571 P	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
22	6/12/65	Shanghai	Prudhoe	Bartlet	B423 Bkhd	sail	Hargrove Fer Susson & Co
23	1/1/66	Hong Kong	Golden Hind	Davies	A1042 Bkhd	sail	R L Gilchrist & Co
24	18/11/65	Shanghai	Chalgrove	J Armstrong	B509 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Lamport
25	11/1/66	Hong Kong	Addison	J W Sloan	A849	sail	R L Gilchrist & Co
26	10/1/66	Shanghai	Vigil	J Thomson	B549 Wpg	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Potters Bros
27	24/1/66	Hong Kong Whampoa	Veronica	K S Douglas	B332 Bkhd	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
28	29/1/66	Hong Kong	Ceylon	Brewer	B590 Bkhd	sail	Nuttall & Co
29	27/2/66	Hong Kong	Adelia Carlton	H Talpay	A583 Bkhd	sail	W F Songey & Co or G S Millar
30	7/3/66	Shanghai	Charlotte	T H Fearon	B589 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Nelson & Co

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
31	26/3/66	Hong Kong Whampoa	Patna	H Jones	B 325 P	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Brocklebanks
32	29/3/66	Shanghai	Begota	J Bell	B383 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
33	14/5/66	Shanghai	Kate Carnie	M Brackenridge	B549 S	sail	McDiarmid or W J & F Meacock
34	28/5/66	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Ajax	A Kidd	B1670 San	steam	A Holt
35	23/7/66	Shanghai	Magellan	P McCridie	B613 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Nicholson
36	18/8/66	Shanghai	Maiden Queen	T Smith	B814 A	sail	Brocklebanks & McDiarmid
37	5/9/66	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 San	steam	A Holt
38	8/11/66	Hong Kong	Everest	J Clarke	B571 S	sail	T & J Brocklebank
39	5/11/66	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Agamemnon	J Middleton	B1672 San	steam	A Holt
40	25/1/67	Hong Kong	Veronica	Brown	B332 A	sail	T & J Brocklebank
41	5/2/67	Hong Kong	Sardinia	J Nelson	B986 N	sail	J & A Caughey or Fletcher Parr
42	4/2/67	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Ajax	A Kidd	B1570 San	steam	A Holt
43	- /3/67	Mauritius S'pore H Kong	Thales	W Lee	B774 Wel	steam	Lampert & Holt
44	23/4/67	Shanghai	Royal Minstrel	W M Areas	B447 S	sail	McDiarmid or Nelson & Cosail
45	2/5/67	Hong Kong	Petcheleee	R Owen	B356 P	sail	T & J Brocklebank
46	1/5/67	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 San	steam	A Holt
47	22/5/67	Hong Kong	Falcon	Luxton	B395 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or W Nicol
48	22/5/67	Yokohama Hong Kong	Golden Dream	H Davies	B1454 Bkhd	sail	Gilchrest, Smith & Co
49	10/6/67	Hong Kong	Kingfisher	D S Harding	A999 Bkhd	sail	Fletcher & Parr
50	5/7/67	Shanghai	Lorton	J G Nelson	B518 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
51	15/7/67	Shanghai	Leon Crespo	A M Busotow	B695 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or W Nicol
52	27/8/67	Hong Kong	Arab	C F Bruhe	F353 Bkhd	sail	Browne Van Santen & Co
53	22/8/67	Shanghai	Emily Flinn	?	B1009 K	sail	Hargrove, Fergusson & Co
54	9/9/67	Shanghai	Megallan	R Crosbie	-613 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
55	11/9/67	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Sdn	steam	A Holt
56	31/10/67	Hong Kong	Everest	J Clarke	B571 P	sail	T & J Brocklebank
57	2/12/67	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Agamemnon	J Middleton	B1550 Sdn	steam	A Holt
58	18/11/67	Shanghai	Forward Ho	J Hussack	B942 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
59	9/12/67	Shanghai	Challenge	T Westlake	B599 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
60	21/12/67	Shanghai	Lieutenant	D Gorrie	B500 Bkhd	sail	J Japp

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
61	30/12/67	Shanghai	Ocean Empress	A McDonald	B1067 Bkhd	sail	J Bains, Taylor & Co
62	23/1/68	Hong Kong Whampoa	Bella	J Turner	B448 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or W Killey
63	23/1/68	Hong Kong	Milton	J H Smith	B1253 Bkhd	sail	Hargrove, Ferguson & Co
64	28/1/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 N	steam	A Holt
65	14/1/68	Shanghai	Joseph Spott	J C Dixon	B556 Wpg	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
66	24/1/68	7 Shanghai	Janet Ferguson	D Ritchie	B581 A	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
67	3/2/68	Hong Kong Whampoa	Parejero	Morrish	-362 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
68	17/2/68	Hong Kong	Veronica	C Brown	B332 P	sail	T & J Brocklebank
69	15/2/68	Shanghai	Charger	W Lester	A1169 Bkhd	sail	T H Ismay & Co
70	5/3/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Diomed	R S Crompton	-1256 Sdn	steam	A Holt
71	21/3/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Copernicus	G Markwell	B950 Sdn	steam	A Holt
72	19/3/68	Shanghai	Wm Turner	J Redmond	-431 P	sail	Poole & Co, McDiarmid & Co
73	8/4/68	Hong Kong	Psyche	F M Harris	B652 Bkhd	sail	Daunt & Senior
74	24/4/68	Hong Kong	Sirene	G D Claassen	F357 P	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Browne
75	29/4/68	Shanghai	Ocean Chief	A Pennie	B747 Bkhd	sail	S Breeze & Co
76	4/5/68	Shanghai	Cleta	Middleton	B518 P	sail	McDiarmid & Co or W Nicol
77	11/5/68	Shanghai	Banlar	A Chase	B760 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
78	13/5/68	Shanghai	Fair Leader	R Pearce	B473 Bkhd	sail	J Glynn & Son
79	16/5/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Sdn	steam	A Holt
80	2/6/68	Hong Kong	Lota	M W Barber	B472 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
81	23/6/68	Hong Kong	Odense	A Boysen	F248 Bkhd	sail	J C Hansen
82	26/6/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Nestor	E B Drenning	B1485 Sdn	steam	A Holt
83	22/6/68	Shanghai	Northfleet	J H Johnson	B876 P	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Patten & Co
84	30/7/68	Hong Kong	Banda	Lamont	B481 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
85	29/7/68	Shanghai	Jane Sprott	Sprott	B668 S	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
86	7/9/68	Hong Kong	Juno	C Iversen	F259 K	sail	J C Hansen
87	19/9/68	Hong Kong	Magdalena	C F Schmidt	F480 Bkhd	sail	Bahr, Behrend & Co
88	1/10/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Diomed	R S Crompton	B1201 San	steam	A Holt
89	17/10/68	Shanghai	Everest	J Clarke	B571 P	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
90	26/10/68	Shanghai	Conqueror	J Davidson	B599 Cg	sail	McDiarmid & Co or G N Gardener

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
91	16/12/68	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Agamemnon	I Middleton	B1550 N	steam	A Holt
92	17/12/68	Shanghai	Melbrek	Taggart	B87?	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
93	8/1/69	Hong Kong Foochow	Windhover	D Nutsford	B846 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
94	9/1/69	Shanghai	M E Nelson	J N Nelson	B595	sail	McDiarmid or Nelson & Co
95	7/2/69	Hong Kong Whampoa	Parejero	King	B362 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
96	2/2/69	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Nestor	E B Drenning	B1414 B - M	steam	A Holt
97	27/2/69	Shanghai	Gladiateur	J de Conteur	B427 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or le Maistre
98	3/3/69	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 B - M	steam	A Holt
99	15/3/69	Hong Kong	Veronica	A Haldane	B332 A	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
100	27/3/69	Hong Kong	Eugenio	T A Leraz	F567 Stn	sail	De la Parrelle & Co
101	17/4/69	Hong Kong	Petchelee	R Owen	B356 P	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
102	22/4/69	Shanghai	Lizzie Iredale	J Wilding	B692 P	sail	McDiarmid or R Conaway
103	30/4/69	Shanghai	Mikado	J E Ibery	B643 S	sail	McDiarmid or Browne & Co
104	14/5/69	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Diomed	R S Crompton	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt
105	7/5/69	Shanghai	Aracan	H Jones	B788 P	sail	McDiarmid or Brocklebanks
106	28/5/69	Hong Kong	Florence Nightingale	R B Beard	B464 Q	sail	McDiarmid or M B Wade
107	29/5/69	Shanghai	Baniar	A Chase	B760 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
108	17/5/69	Shanghai	City of Agra	W Ellwood	B1073 A	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
109	23/6/69	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Tycho Brahe	E R Peel	B1256 B - M	steam	A Holt
110	30/6/69	Shanghai	Celestial Queen	Watt	B842 W	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
111	30/7/69	Hong Kong	Vistula	W A Burkitt	F635 Bkhd	sail	Japp & Kirby
112	26/8/69	Shanghai	Bolivia	J Kelly	B412 N	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
113	11/10/69	Hong Kong	Lily of Devon	Barnett	B398 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co or W Nicol
114	11/9/69	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Nestor	E B Drenning	B1414 B - M	steam	A Holt
115	29/9/69	Mauritius Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 B - M	steam	A Holt
116	21/10/69	Shanghai	Duke of Abercorn	W Dalrymple	B1049 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
117	15/11/69	Shanghai	Andromeda	A Dakos	B974 Bkhd	sail	A Baruchson or Fletcher & Parr
118	27/11/69	Hong Kong	Veronica	A M Haldane	B332	sail	A T & J Brocklebank
119	20/11/69	Shanghai	Doune Castle	W Erskine	B886	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields
120	1/2/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Diomed	R S Crompton	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
121	21/2/70	Shanghai	Jumna	J R Taylor	B799	sail	McDiarmid & Co or J Beazley
122	12/3/70	Shanghai	Carricks	G R Anderson	B916	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields
123	18/3/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Priam	G Butlin	B1633 B - M	steam	A Holt
124	29/3/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Magdala	Davidson	B549 Cbg	steam	Stoddart Bros.
125	13/4/70	Shanghai	John Nicholson	J Webster	B685	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields
126	21/4/70	Penang S'pore H Kong Sh'hai Japan via Sz	Leith	J Barnett & son	B957	steam	Stoddart Bros.
127	26/4/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Nestor	E B Drenning	B1414 B - M	steam	A Holt
128	12/3/70	Shanghai	Carricks	G J Anderson	B916 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
129	14/5/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Hipparchus	G Markwell	B1251	steam	Lampart & Holt
130	24/5/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Albatross	J Hewat	B661	steam	Stoddart Bros
131	12/6/70	Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Suez	Eldon	K Asker	B596 B	steam	Stoddart Bros
132	16/6/70	Shanghai	Malacca	R H Beattie	B593 S	sail	McDiarmid & Co / J Graham
133	4/7/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Alonso	J Wright	B1055	steam	Stoddart Bros
134	10/8/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Elgin	A Hutton	B889 B	steam	Stoddart Bros
135	9/8/70	Shanghai	Sarah Nicholson	G Hefferman	B933 P	sail	McDiarmid Greenshields & Co
136	16/8/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Diomed	R S Crompton	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt
137	22/8/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Bengal	G P Haddock	B1175 Wpg	steam	McDiarmid Greenshields / Ismay &
138	17/8/70	Singapore Saigon Bangkok H Kong via Sz	Una	O E Smith	B1006	steam	H E Moss & Co
139	21/9/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Achilles	T Russell	B155 B - M	steam	A Holt
140	20/10/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Nestor	E B Denning	B1414 B - M	steam	A Holt
141	27/10/70	Penang Singapore via Suez	Sharpshooter	Barlow	B146 Wpg	steam	McDiarmid & Co / Ismay?
142	10/11/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 B - M	steam	A Holt
143	28/11/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Sarpedon	?	B1519 B - M	steam	A Holt
144	2/12/70	Penang Singapore Bangkok	Said	W S Lucas	B683	steam	McDiarmid & Co / Eddowes
145	27/12/70	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Albatross	W Hewat	B661 B	steam	Stoddart Bros
146	2/1/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Agamemnon	J Middleton	B1550 B - M	steam	A Holt
147	30/1/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Ulysses	E B Penrice	B1520 B - M	steam	A Holt
148	31/1/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Diomed	R C Crompton	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt
149	28/2/71	Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Emblehope	J Joss	B1244	steam	Stoddart Bros
150	6/3/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via Sz	Hector	J Bewley	B1580 B - M	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
151	6/3/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 B - M	steam	A Holt
152	6/4/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Bernard	T Marsh	B577 B - M	steam	A Holt
153	11/4/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	EB Denning	B1414 B - M	steam	A Holt
154	24/4/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 B - M	steam	A Holt
155	26/4/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	G Butler	B1572 B - M	steam	A Holt
156	15/5/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	G Butler	B1519	steam	A Holt
157	7/6/71	Penang Singapore h Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	J Wolfe	B1526 B - M	steam	A Holt
158	12/6/71	Singapore H Kong Shanghai Yokohama	Alexandre Lavalley	E Longu	F1109 B - M	steam	Mors le Blanch or W H Scott
159	3/7/71	Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Lorne	M F Butcher	B1034	steam	Stoddart Bros
160	18/7/71	Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Commander	F Chambers	B745 B	steam	Stoddart Bros
161	27/7/71	Singapore H Kong Shanghai	Warrior	J Thomas	B956 Cbg	steam	T & J Harrison or McDiarmid
162	22/8/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Henderson	B1520 B - M	steam	A Holt
163	4/9/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russell	B1555 B - M	steam	A Holt
164	12/9/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	R S Crompton	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt
165	22/9/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	E B Drenning J	B1414	steam	A Holt
166	10/10/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 B - M	steam	A Holt
167	31/10/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	C Butler	B1519 B - M	steam	A Holt
168	9/11/71	Hong Kong via Cardiff	St Andrew's Castle	?	B639 A	sail	J Jackson & Co
169	1/12/71	Hong Kong	Antipodes	D Dobson	B592	sail	McDiarmid Greenshield & Co
170	9/12/71	Hong Kong	Hermion	J Duthie	B390 Bkhd	sail	Strong & Co or Fletcher & Parr
171	12/12/71	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Blackwall	J Cole	B1189 Cars	sail	Gilchrest Patton & Co
172	5/12/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	C Butler	B1604 B - M	steam	A Holt
173	9/12/71	Hong Kong	Hermion	J Duthie	B390 Bkhd	sail	Strong & Co or Fletcher & Parr
174	18/12/71	Hong Kong	Clymene	T Morgan	B745 Bkhd	sail	McDiarmid & Co or Bushby
175	15/12/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	G Butler	B1572 B - M	steam	A Holt
176	26/12/71	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 B - M	steam	A Holt
177	18/1/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 B - M	steam	A Holt
178	31/1/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Henderson	B1520 B - M	steam	A Holt
179	12/2/72	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Elise	P Hamen	F349 K	sail	Bahr, Behrend & Co
180	5/2/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	J Middleton	B1601 B - M	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
181	10/2/72	Pen'g S'pore H Kong Sh'hai Hankow via S	Erl King	E W Berryman	B1068 Morpht	steam	Robertson & Co
182	21/2/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 B - M	steam	A Holt
183	26/2/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H J Jackson	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt
184	13/2/72	Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Abbotsford	C Patterson	B649 B - M	steam	N H Hughes & Nephew
185	24/2/72	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Sapphire	E J Sendos	A1305 Sdn	sail	Gilchrist & Pattern
186	4/3/72	Hong Kong	Kentville	M Doyle	B761 Bkhd	sail	J S de Wolf & Co
187	14/3/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	C Butler	B1526 B - M	steam	A Holt
188	15/3/72	Hong Kong	Peter	R Rickelsen	F399 Bkhd	sail	Bahr & Co or Simkin & Co
189	18/3/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J Byrne	B1414 B - M	steam	A Holt
190	2/4/72	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Irwell	J McDonald	B1508 Sdn	sail	Gilchrist & Pattern
191	16/4/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1519 B - M	steam	A Holt
192	29/4/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Wilding	B1604 B - M	steam	A Holt
193	4/5/72	Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Atholl	A Asplet	B1076	steam	Stoddart Bros
194	3/6/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 B - M	steam	A Holt
195	4/6/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 B - M	steam	A Holt
196	28/6/72	Singapore H Kong Shanghai	Petersburg	A M Black	B1064 Morpeth	steam	Stoddart Bros
197	2/7/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	G Butler	B1572 B - M	steam	A Holt
198	22/7/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	R S Crompton	B1601 Morpeth	steam	A Holt
199	23/7/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Bkhd	steam	A Holt
200	23/7/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Middleton	B1550 Bkhd	steam	A Holt
201	7/8/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1560	steam	A Holt
202	10/8/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 B - M	steam	A Holt
203	20/8/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M Jackson	B1201 B - M	steam	A Holt
204	23/8/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	T Marsh	B1526 Morpeth	steam	A Holt
205	23/9/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Henderson	B1520 B - M	steam	A Holt
206	26/9/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J Byrne	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
207	2/10/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Willing	B1604 Mpth	steam	A Holt
208	21/10/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
209	29/10/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1519 Bkhd	steam	A Holt
210	21/11/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
211	2/12/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	B Butlin	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
212	13/12/72	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	R S Crompton	B1601 Mpth	steam	A Holt
213	8/1/73	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Mrpth	steam	A Holt
214	8/1/73	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 Mrpth	steam	A Holt
215	13/1/73	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	R Thomson	B1550 Mrpth	steam	A Holt
216	28/1/73	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1201 Mrpth	steam	A Holt
217	27/2/73	Hong Kong	Fatchoy	Paraja	F1081 Sdn	steam	Parr & Co
218	27/2/73	Hong Kong via Cardiff	H Upmann	F Schwarze	F434 Cars	sail	Bahr Behrend & Co
219	26/2/73	Penang Singapore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
220	1/3/73	Hong Kong	Fairy	T Johnson	B481 P	sail	Dale & Wheatley
221	29/3/73	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Lady Blessington	J S Williams	A1048 P	sail	P Francis Bouth or J Breeze & Co
222	17/3/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J Hill	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
223	25/3/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Wilding	B1604 Mpth	steam	A Holt
224	7/4/73	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Aureola	G Ross	A822 Sdn	sail	Gilchrist & Patten
225	7/4/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1519 Mpth	steam	A Holt
226	23/4/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
227	12/5/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	T Marsh	B1526 B - M	steam	A Holt
228	15/5/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	?	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
229	4/6/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
230	10/6/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	R S Crompton	B1601 Mpth	steam	A Holt
231	13/6/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Indus	Stewart	B2205 Bkhd	steam	F Leyland & Co
232	17/6/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 Mpth	steam	A Holt
233	1/7/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
234	14/7/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Gwllior	Haselwood	B1727 Mpth	steam	F Leyland & Co
235	16/7/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H Jackson	B1201 Mpth	steam	A Holt
236	22/7/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	R Thomson	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
237	26/7/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
238	27/8/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Wilding	B1604 Mpth	steam	A Holt
239	30/8/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J Hill	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
240	1/9/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
241	10/9/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1519 Mpth	steam	A Holt
242	23/9/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
243	13/10/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	T Marsh	B1526 Mpth	steam	A Holt
244	20/10/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	R F Scale	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
245	20/11/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	R S Crompton	B1601 mpth	steam	A Holt
246	-/12/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 Mpth	steam	A Holt
247	23/12/73	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
248	3/1/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1201 Mpth	steam	A Holt
249	7/1/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	R Thomson	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
250	23/1/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
251	2/2/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Wilding	B1604 Mpth	steam	A Holt
252	12/2/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
253	10/2/74	S'pore H Kong Shanghai	Hochung	W B Drage	B929 Mpth	steam	D & J Macdonald or Robertson
254	24/2/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J Hill	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
255	7/3/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	N Ferguson	B1519 Mpth	steam	A Holt
256	10/3/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
257	13/3/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
258	27/3/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	T Marsh	B1526 Mpth	steam	A Holt
259	23/4/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	R F Scale	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
260	13/5/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 Mpth	steam	A Holt
261	8/6/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
262	24/6/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1201 Mpth	steam	A Holt
263	3/7/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	R S Crompton	B1601 Mpth	steam	A Holt
264	13/7/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
265	28/7/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	R Thomson	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
266	19/8/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	H Jones	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
267	24/8/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Wilding	B1604 Mpth	steam	A Holt
268	27/8/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
269	29/8/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
270	7/9/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1519 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
271	16/9/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	B Paxton	B1519 Mpth	steam	A Holt
272	22/9/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
273	13/10/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	R F Scale	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
274	27/10/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	E B Drenning	B1607 Mpth	steam	A Holt
275	16/11/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
276	24/11/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1202 Mpth	steam	A Holt
277	16/12/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	R S Crompton	B1601 Mpth	steam	A Holt
278	24/12/74	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
279	21/1/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	W Courtenay	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
280	29/1/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	J Wilding	B1604 Mpth	steam	A Holt
281	8/2/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Butler	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
282	17/2/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	R Thomson	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
283	1/3/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russel	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
284	15/3/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	B Paxton	B1526 Mpth	steam	A Holt
285	17/3/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
286	7/4/75	H Kong Yokohama San Francisco	Oceanic	J W Jennings	B2349 W	steam	Ismay, Imrie & Co
287	7/4/75	H Kong Yokohama San Francisco	Belgic	J Metcalfe	B1716 W	steam	Ismay, Imrie & Co
288	7/4/75	H Kong Yokohama San Francisco	Gaelic	H Parsei	B1712 W	steam	Ismay, Imrie & Co
289	9/4/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1555 Mpth	steam	A Holt
290	19/4/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	R F Scale	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
291	28/4/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
292	30/4/75	Hong Kong	Carolus Magnus	W Gordon	B1478 Hrcim S	sail	McNeillage & Co
293	12/5/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	J Bewley	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
294	27/5/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M F H Jackson	B1201 Mpth	steam	A Holt
295	31/5/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	J Middleton	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
296	26/5/75	Singapore Hong Kong	Eastern Monarch	A Donaldson	B1706 Bkhd	sail	Patton, Vickers & Co
297	23/6/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	J Bewley	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
298	22/7/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	W Courtenay	B1414 Bkhd	steam	A Holt
299	26/7/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	C Bulter	B1596 Mpth	steam	A Holt
300	10/8/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	R S Crompton	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
301	11/8/75	S'pore H Kong Shanghai Y'hama Amoor R	Batrak (I. Finisterre)	erre) C Zottoff	B352 B	steam	H E Moss & Co
302	17/8/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
303	26/8/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
304	1/9/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
305	7/9/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	C Bulter	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
306	15/9/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
307	1/10/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1555 Mpth	steam	A Holt
308	13/10/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	R F Scale	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
309	29/10/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
310	6/11/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	B Paxton	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
311	17/11/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	E B Drenning	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
312	29/11/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1201 Mpth	steam	A Holt
313	24/12/75	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	M R White	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
314	6/1/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	W Courtenay	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
315	12/1/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Orestes	J Bewley	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
316	12/1/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
317	25/1/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
318	11/2/76	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Oregon	J M Cushing	A1430 Car	sail	C T Russell & Co
319	9/2/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
320	25/2/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	C Butler	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
321	1/3/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
322	17/3/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
323	3/4/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	W Ferguson	B1555 Mpth	steam	A Holt
324	18/4/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	S H Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
325	26/4/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J Byrne	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
326	28/4/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	State of Alabama	G Hamlin	B1511 Bkhd	steam	Stoddart Bros
327	8/5/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R S Crompton	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
328	10/5/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	E B Drenning	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
329	30/5/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
330	1/6/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1201 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
331	14/6/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	White	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
332	28/6/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	W Courtney	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
333	8/6/76	S'pore H Kong Yokohama Hiogo	Gadshill	J Roston	B2040 Mpth	steam	Mors le Blanch or W Wheatley
334	13/7/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
335	27/7/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Bkhd	steam	Brodersen Vaughan & Co
336	9/8/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
337	28/8/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	C Butler	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
338	18/8/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
339	4/9/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
340	2/10/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	S H Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
341	16/10/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R F Scale	B1555 Mpth	steam	A Holt
342	30/10/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
343	9/11/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	M R White	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
344	29/11/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J M Byrne	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
345	29/11/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	W Courtenay	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
346	13/12/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J K Webster	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
347	4/12/76	S'pore H Kong Yokohama via S	Duna	J Drysdale	B852 Bkhd	steam	Stoddart Bros or Mors le Blanch
348	13/12/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J K Webster	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
349	29/12/76	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B - Mpth	steam	A Holt
350	11/1/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
351	25/1/77	Hong Kong	C W Cochrane	F L Given	A1105 V	sail	CT Russell & Co
352	30/1/77	Hong Kong via Cardiff	A S Davis	J W Ford	A1399	sail	CT Russell & Co
353	22/1/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
354	2/2/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	C Butler	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
355	16/2/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
356	24/2/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
357	13/3/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	S H Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
358	22/3/77	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Pilgrim	F Fowler	A956 P	sail	C T Russell & Co
359	27/3/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M F H Jackson	B1240 Mpth	steam	A Holt
360	5/4/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R F Scales	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
361	12/4/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	T Russell	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
362	9/5/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	W Courtenay	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
363	23/5/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	M R White	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
364	31/5/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	J K Webster	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
365	12/6/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
366	20/6/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Sh'hai via London	City of Limerick	?	B1725 Hskn	steam	Inman SS Co
367	3/7/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
368	7/7/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J A Guard	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
369	17/7/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	C Butler	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
370	25/7/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
371	8/8/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
372	4/8/77	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Cashmere	H H Kendrick	A936 Bkhd	sail	C T Russell & Co
373	21/8/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	S H Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
374	30/8/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1240 Mpth	steam	A Holt
375	10/9/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R F Scale	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
376	22/9/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	C Anderson	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
377	1/10/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Orestes	J K Webster	B1323 Mpth	steam	A Holt
378	11/10/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	W Courtenay	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
379	23/10/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	M R White	B1302 Mpth	steam	A Holt
380	7/11/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	T W Freeman	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
381	16/11/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1549 Mpth	steam	A Holt
382	21/11/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
383	27/11/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	C Butler	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
384	24/12/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J A Guard	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
385	29/12/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
386	29/12/77	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
387	12/1/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
388	25/1/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	S H Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
389	30/1/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1246 Mpth	steam	A Holt
390	1/2/78	Hong Kong	Mabel Clark	O D Sheldon	A1661 V	sail	Ross Skolfeld & Co

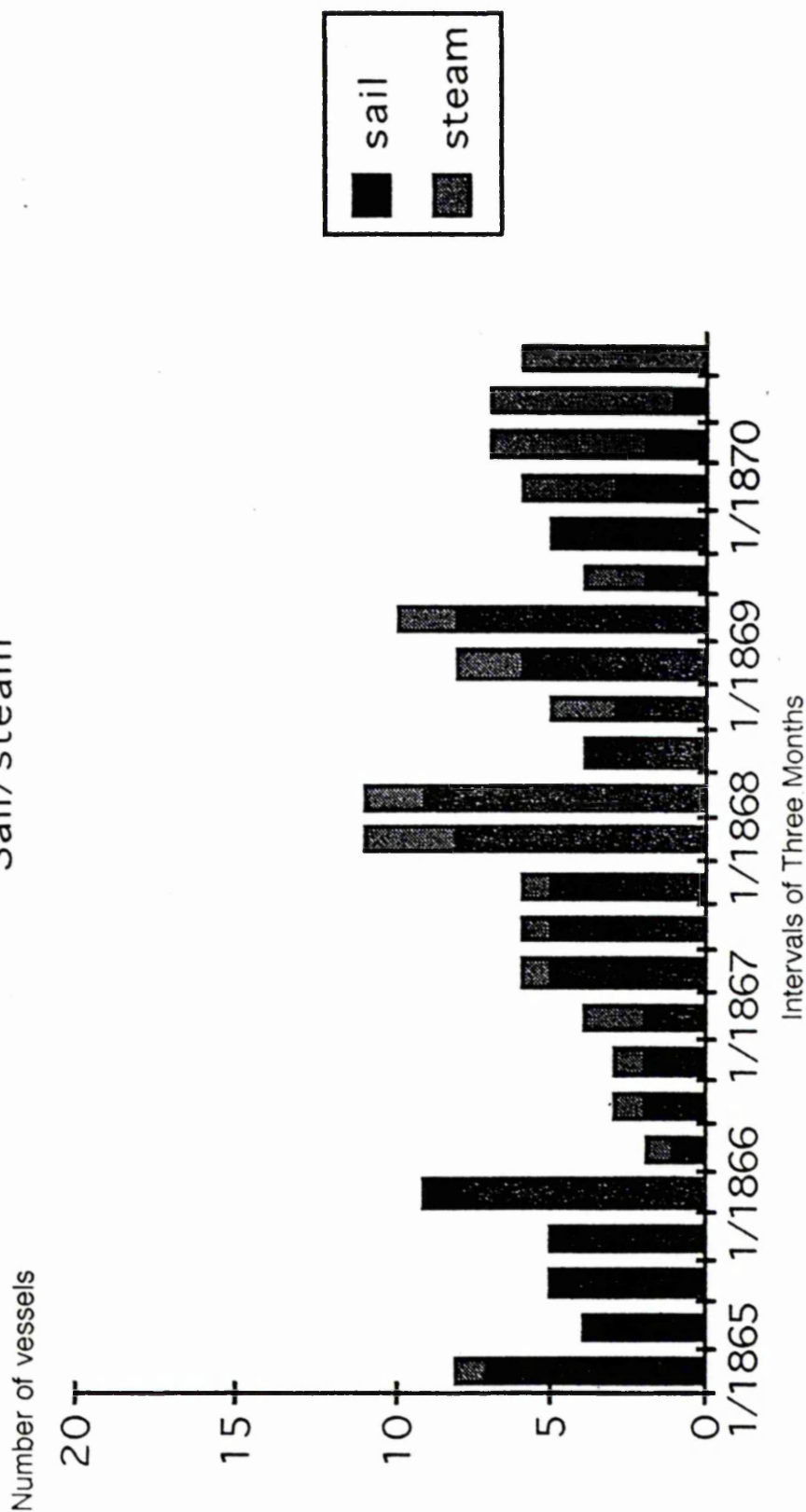
	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
391	18/2/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	J Rea	B1591 Mpth	steam	A Holt
392	14/3/78	Hong Kong	Oracle	J E Watkins	B90 G	sail	A L Jones & Co or D W Davie
393	12/3/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
394	13/3/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R F Scale	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
395	25/3/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	M R White	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
396	1/4/78	Hong Kong	Imperatrice Elisabeth	ta M T Hreglich	Asst Bkhd	sail	Japp & Kirby
397	3/4/78	Hong Kong	Rosie Welt	O C Welt	A1378 Bkhd	sail	C T Russell & Co
398	6/4/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	C Anderson	B1528 Mpth	steam	A Holt
399	30/4/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	C Butler	B1589 Mpth	steam	A Holt
400	14/5/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Teucer	R T Power	B1324 Mpth	steam	A Holt
401	20/5/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	T W Freeman	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
402	28/5/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	A Kidd	B1524 Mpth	steam	A Holt
403	25/6/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
404	28/6/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J A Guard	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
405	10/7/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	S H Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
406	11/6/78	Shanghai	Benclutha	Higgins	B970 Cr	sail	J Hay & Co
407	22/7/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1240 Mpth	steam	A Holt
408	7/8/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	M H F Jackson	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
409	9/8/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
410	15/8/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
411	21/8/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Orestes	J K Webster	B1323 Mpth	steam	A Holt
412	6/9/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R F Scale	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
413	7/9/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	R S White	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
414	10/9/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1550 Mpth	steam	A Holt
415	16/9/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	C Anderson	B1520 Mpth	steam	A Holt
416	18/9/78	Hong Kong	Jacobine	Hohlmann	G417 Bkhd	sail	Bahr Behrend & Co
417	30/9/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	Kirkpatrick	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
418	3/10/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	Billinge	B1584 Mpth	steam	A Holt
419	22/10/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Teucer	Power	B1324 Mpth	steam	A Holt
420	4/11/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	T W Freeman	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
421	28/11/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
422	5/12/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J A Guard	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
423	28/12/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1240 Mpth	steam	A Holt
424	30/12/78	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	J Rea	B1591 Mpth	steam	A Holt
425	9/1/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
426	27/1/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt
427	11/2/79	Hong Kong via Cardiff	Adam M Simpson	Sumner	A1524 Bkhd	sail	C T Russell & Co
428	15/2/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Orestes	J K Webster	B1323 Mpth	steam	A Holt
429	21/2/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
430	4/3/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	White	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
431	17/3/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	Jackson	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
432	17/3/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	C Anderson	B1528 Mpth	steam	A Holt
433	21/3/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	Kirkpatrick	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
434	28/4/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Teucer	R T Power	B1324 Mpth	steam	A Holt
435	30/4/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	R Scale	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
436	6/5/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	C Butler	B1589 Mpth	steam	A Holt
437	12/5/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
438	21/5/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	J A Guard	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
439	11/6/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
440	20/6/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	Freeman	B1414 Mpth	steam	A Holt
441	20/6/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	Rea	B1591 Mpth	steam	A Holt
442	7/7/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Diomed	M H F Jackson	B1240 Mpth	steam	A Holt
443	12/7/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ajax	R Scale	B1524 Mpth	steam	A Holt
444	24/7/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Deucalion	R J Brown	B1639 Mpth	steam	A Holt
445	31/7/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Orestes	J K Webster	B1323	steam	A Holt
446	11/8/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Agamemnon	J Wilding	B1522 Mpth	steam	A Holt
447	24/8/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Achilles	C Anderson	B1528 Mpth	steam	A Holt
448	27/8/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Stentor	Kirkpatrick	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
449	1/9/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Patroclus	White	B1650 Mpth	steam	A Holt
450	22/9/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Antenor	H Jones	B1644 Mpth	steam	A Holt

	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
451	29/9/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Anchises	Jackson	B1304 Mpth	steam	A Holt
452	1/10/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Teucer	Power	B1324 Mpth	steam	A Holt
453	13/10/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Menelaus	Billinge	B1559 Mpth	steam	A Holt
454	24/10/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Hector	C Butler	B1584 Mpth	steam	A Holt
455	1/11/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Glaucus	T S Jackson	B1647 Mpth	steam	A Holt
456	10/11/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Ulysses	Gerard	B1560 Mpth	steam	A Holt
457	24/11/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Sarpedon	Rea	B1591 Mpth	steam	A Holt
458	24/11/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Priam	Butler	B1572 Mpth	steam	A Holt
459	6/12/79	Penang S'pore H Kong Shanghai via S	Nestor	T W Freeman	B1435 Mpth	steam	A Holt

CHINA-BOUND VESSELS ARRIVING LIVERPOOL 1865-70: PROPORTION OF SAIL TO STEAM

Sail/steam



APPENDIX II

THE MERSEYSIDE COLLECTIONS

The Merseyside Collections

The list which follows consists of articles recorded in the holdings of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside and provenanced to collectors already referred to in this thesis. Where items are in the Liverpool Museum oriental collections the initials LM. are used. Where they are located in the Decorative Arts section of the Walker Art Gallery the initials used are DA. The initials MMM indicate the item is in the collections of the Merseyside Maritime Museum. Items listed as "not found" are apparently extant but unlocated, in other instances they are listed as "lost in war" indicating that this item was completely destroyed.

Mayer Collection

Ceramics:

Model of cockerel, Dehua, Qianlong, Ht. 17cm. LM. [M1402] **[Plate 69]**

Jug, underglaze blue, Ht. 14cm. LM. [M1453]

Teabowl, overglaze, Dia. 7.5cm. LM. [M1490]

Bowl, Yongzheng, Dia.11.5cm. LM.[M1702]

Armorial Dish, overglaze, reading "Vtreght" Dia. 47cm. LM. [M1708]

Bowl, underglaze blue, Dia. 25.9cm. LM. [M1715]

Vase, underglaze blue, Ht. 23.5cm. LM. [M1789] **[Plate 70]**

Bowl, overglaze, Kangxi, Dia. 34cm. LM.[M1901]

Model of a water buffalo, L. 6.2cm. LM.[M1908]

Plate, overglaze, Dia. 22cm. LM. [M1935]

Tea bowl and saucer, overglaze, Kangxi, Dia. 22.4 cm. LM. [M1950] **[Plate 71]**

Teapot, Yixing, Ht. 11cm. LM. [M1991] **[Plate 72]**

Teapot and stand, Yixing, Ht. 9.1cm. LM. [M1993] **[Plate 73]**

Fish bowl, overglaze, Yongzheng, Ht. 39.5cm Dia. 58cm. LM. [M2081]

Vase, overglaze, 18th century, Ht. 15.2cm. LM. [M4001]

Opium pipe head, 19th century, Dia.5cm. LM. [M5354]

Plate, depicting landscape scene, Dia. 35cm. LM. [M5581] **[Plate 74]**

Bottle, Ht. 5.1cm. LM. [M8810]

Teapot and lid, Ht. 14cm. LM. [M----]

Teabowl, underglaze blue, Dia. 7.4cm. LM. [M---8]

Incense Burner, [not found] [M536]

Mayer

Metal, organic, textile:

Silk cloak, L.126cm. LM. [M12691]

Musical instrument, L. 63cm. LM. [M5129]

Bronze Gong, Dia. 13.6cm. LM. [M8329]

Shafted spear, L. 266cm. LM. [M5457]

Beggar's travelling equipment, various measurements, LM. [M4957]

Chinese bow, L. 740cm. LM. [M ---]

Chinese bow, L.1600cm. LM. [M5488]

Read/Thomson Collection

Painting "Scawfell" oils, MM. [50.29.4] **[Plate 26]**

Painting "Scawfell" oils, MM. [50.29.6] **[Plate 27]**

Porcelain sprinkler and bowl. Purchased in China. [This information is recorded in the Museum Documentation records LM.] [50.30.102]

Porcelain sprinkler Ht.49.5cm. and bowl Ht. 22cm. Dia. 55.7cm. Japanese/Liverpool Museum. [50.30.102a]

Porcelain sprinkler and bowl. [not found], Japanese/LM. [50.30.103]

Porcelain sprinkler and bowl; Ht. 14.9cm. Dia. 40.2cm. Japanese/LM. [50.30.103a]

Porcelain Jar; Ht.13cm, Dia. 9.6cm. Japanese/LM. [50.30.105]

Porcelain Tray with perforated lid.L.19.5cm. Japanese/LM.[50.30.106]

Porcelain soap dish with strainer and lid; L.12.3cm. W.9.2cm. Ht.8.3cm. Japanese/LM. [50.30.107]

Round Toilet Box with lid, Dia. 8.5cm. Ht. 3.7cm.Japanese/LM. [50.30.108]

Round Toilet Box with lid, Dia. 8.5cm. Ht. 3.9cm. Japanese/LM. [50.30.109]

Black Lacquer Fan Box, 20.3cm/5.1cm. DA. [50.30.110]

Black Lacquer Fan Box, 20.3cm./5.1cm. DA. [50.30.111]

Black and Gold Lacquer Bureau and Cabinet, [not found] [50.30.112]

Black and Gold Lacquer Worktable, Ht.235235 72.5cm. L.6.4cm. W.44.2cm. LM. [**Plate 31**] [50.30.113]

Large Tortoiseshell Comb [not found] [50.30.115]

White And Yellow Silk Parasol [carried by Mrs. Thomson on her wedding day 1855] L.92cm. [not found] [**similar to Plate 75**] [50.30.118]

Pair of carved ivory bracelets in a box, seven oval plaques set in silver and linked by silver chains. The plaque W. 1.8cm. L.2.3cm. Total L. 19cm. Original box was broken and was a gift of the heirs Miss Thomson. Mr. R. Bruce Read [missing in war] [50.30.120]

Carved Ivory Relief, in original box. Western-style scene of maiden with her apron full of fruit. Ivory Ht.4.2cm.W.3.3cm. Box 6.5cm./2.3cm./5cm. [missing in war] [50.30.121]

Silver gilt and niello purse, Japanese ? L.7cm. W. 8cm. Ht. 3cm. DA. [50.30.135]

Tortoiseshell card case L.8.75cm/5cm. DA. [50.30.137]

"Mandarin" Fan L24.5cm. DA. [**similar to Plate 50**] [50.30.142]

"Mandarin" Fan L24.5cm. DA. [50.30.143]

Fan. Painted paper depicting European figures in landscape, edged with swan's down, gilt mirror on front guard. L.30cm. DA. [50.30.144]

Pierced ivory fan; L. 26cm. DA. [50.30.145]

Work box decorated with inlaid woods and ivory inside. L38.1cm. 24.7cm. [not found] [50.30.151]

Steatite pagoda with wooden stand [not found] [50.30.152]

Section from ivory game, L.20cm. LM. [50.30.153]

Lacquer Trinket Box [not found] [50.30.157]

Satin wood work box inlaid with mahogany. Possibly bought in Penang. Bought for his daughter Argo while in Convent School in Belgium. L.27.9cm.W.18.5cm. Ht. 10.3cm [not found] [50.30.184]

Satinwood writing desk. Matches 50.30.184. L.40.1cm. W.23.2cm. Ht.12.2cm. [not found] [50.30.185]

Chinese porcelain cup. Undecorated. Ht.2.9cm. Dia.6.3cm. [not found] [50.30.199]

Dolls' service. Blue underglaze decoration with added Indian red [not found]. [50.30.216-231]

Childs Parasol. Patterned silk. L. 55cm. [not found]. [50.30.246]

Steatite Games Board. Dia. 28.7cm. [not found]. [50.30.263]

Chinese Walking Stick, bamboo. Carved with ten scenes, the top made with metal, possibly silver. It is embossed with similar scenes to those depicted on the stick. Black tassel near the top of the stick. L. 8.95cm. [not found]. [50.30.272]

Chinese Walking Stick. Twisted plain wood with a metal tip at either end. L.82cm. [not found] [50.30.273]

Chinese Plain Wood Walking Stick. Metal tipped at bottom, possibly silver handle. L.93cm. [not found] [similar to Plate 75] [50.30.274]

Chinese Plain Wood Walking Stick. similar to 274, possibly silver handle. Tip at end missing, L.91.5 cm. [not found] [50.30.275]

Large blue and white willow pattern meat dish L.45cm.W.36.2cm. [not found] [50.30.276]

Parasol with blue and white fringe, L.70cm. DA. [50.30.277]

Black lacquer games box, L.29.4cm. W. 25.5cm. Ht.9.3cm. DA [50.30.282]

Black lacquer Writing Desk, L.42.1cm. W. 24.5cm. Ht. 15.5cm. LM. [50.30.283]

Black lacquer writing case inlaid with mother-of-pearl, L.30.2cm. W.22.8cm. LM. [50.30.284]

Black lacquer fan, L30cm. DA. [50.30.286]

Ivory fan with white silk cord and pink silk ribbon, L.28.5cm. DA. [50.30.287]

Tortoishell Bracelet, Dia.1.9cm. W.6.5cm. / 5cm. DA. [50.30.298]

Flattened oval amber bead, carved triangular design, Japanese? 19th century
2cm./1.3cm./0.5cm. [not found] [50.30.366]

Ivory needlework implement, L.14.2cm. W.3cm. LM. [50.30.392a]

Ivory needlework implement, L.15cm. W.6cm. LM. [50.30.392b]

Ivory needlework implement, L.16.5cm. W.1.2cm. L M. [50.30.392c]

Model of a trapeze artist. Ivory, bad state of disrepair with legs missing,
LM. [50.30.393]

Model of a trapeze artist. Ivory, top half of right leg missing. Both legs
disjointed, stand broken. Dimensions, incomplete, LM. [50.30.394] **[Plate 67]**

Section from ivory basket, L.15cm. LM. [50.30.395a]

Section from ivory basket. L.15cm. LM. [50.30.395b]

Carved ivory games, L.13.5cm. LM. [50.30.396] **[Plate 65]**

Black Lacquer Board, L. 22.1cm. W. 18.3 cm. LM. [50.30.418]

Holt Collection

Silver belt made of coins, L. 74 cm. LM. [1991.121.32] **[Plate 76]**

Figured wood tea caddy, L. 26cm., Ht. 18.5 cm. LM.[1991.121.67]

Rattan coaster, L. 32.5 cm. LM. [1991.121.102]

Rattan suitcase, L. 61 cm. LM. [1991.121.103]

Larrenaga Collection

Rectangular lacquer games box, L.30.5 cm. W. 26 cm. LM. [1991.121.65]

Lacquer sewing box, L. 37 cm. W. 26 cm. Ht. 13.5 cm. LM. [1991.121.69]

Two painted feather fans, L. 21 cm. LM. [1991.121.83]

Large ivory comb, L. 22 cm. LM. [1991.121.84]

Rattan single chair, L. 92 cm. LM. [1991.121.104]

Pink silk robe, L. 130 cm. LM. [1991.121.128]

European-style cotton shirt, LM. [1991.121.129] **[Plate 52]**

Pair of embroidered silk platform shoes, L. 22 cm. Ht. 18 cm. LM. [1991.121.142]

Other Collections

In addition to the collections in the possession of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, other collections of China Trade articles associated with Liverpool from the nineteenth century are in private hands and access to them can occasionally be granted for purposes of research.



CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FOR

THE LIVERPOOL CHINA TRADE
1834-1880

Christina Jane Baird

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1. Captain Robert Thomson c.1870 [R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]
2. Captain Alexander Kidd c.1870 [Maritime Archives, Merseyside Maritime Museum, MMM]
3. Helen Bruce Thomson c.1870 [R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]
4. The "Agamemnon" late 19th cent. [Maritime Archives, MMM]
5. Portrait of George IV as Prince of Wales reverse-painted on glass by "Far Qua", 18th century, 53.5 x 38.5 cm. [X 8823, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight]
6. Portrait of a Western Merchant or EIC Officer by Spoilum, reverse painted on glass, c.1760, 28 x 38 cm. [X 2715 Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight]
7. Portrait of George III, Chinese artist, reverse painted on glass, after T. Frye late 18th century 60.5 x 50.5 cm. [1993.69 Liverpool Museum]
8. Daguerreotype copy of couple taking tea, oil on canvas, late 19th century [private collection]
9. Portrait of a gentleman, oil on canvas, by Lamqua, early 19th century [private collection]
10. Portrait of a gentleman, showing influence of Chinnery, oil on canvas, 19th century [private collection]
11. Pith painting, dedication scene, 32 x 22.25 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum]
12. Pith painting, dressing-room scene, 32 x 22.25 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum]
13. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
14. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
15. Pith painting, seated woman and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
16. Pith painting, seated woman and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
17. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
18. Pith painting, seated man and attendant, 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]

19. Pith painting, seated woman and attendant 32 x 24 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
20. Silk painting, food-seller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
21. Silk painting, beverage-seller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
22. Silk painting, food-seller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
23. Silk painting, board-game players 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
24. Silk painting, foodseller 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
25. Silk painting of a cooper, 24.25 cm. x 19.5 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
26. Oil painting on canvas, "Scawfell", Chinese artist, anon. 1858, 70 x 55 cm. [50.29.2, MMM, R/Thomson collection]
27. Oil painting on canvas, "Scawfell" Chinese artist, anon. 1858, 77 x 56 cm. [50.29.3 MMM, R/Thomson collection]
28. Two views of the brig "Arab" by Miles and Samuel Walters c. 1830
29. Pith painting , floating dwelling of a duck-seller. 22.2 x 32 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum]
30. Pith painting, the barge of a rich merchant or Chinese official or possibly an entertainment boat, 22.2 x 32 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.575 Liverpool Museum]
31. Lacquered worktable 73 cm. c.1860-70 [50.30.113, R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]
32. Sofa, hardwood, L. 199 cm. Ht. 82 cm. 2nd half 19th century [1991.121.27 Liverpool Museum]
33. Child's rattan chair with sliding table. Ht. 68 cm. 2nd half 19th century [1991.121.15 Liverpool Museum]
34. Rattan armchair of square proportions. Ht. 88 x 49 cm. 1st half 19th century [1991.121.22 Liverpool Museum]
35. Maroon lacquer sewing table, Ht. 73.5 cm. L. 62 cm. c.1860-70 [1991.121.13]
36. Japanese black lacquer export table. Ht. 71 cm. x 47 cm. 1st half 19th century [1991.121.25 Liverpool Museum]

37. Chippendale-style desk, 1754 design, Huali knee-hole desk 2nd half 18th century. Ht. 78 cm. L. 114 cm. W. 72 cm. [1991.121.20 Liverpool Museum]
38. Hepplewhite style chair, late 18th century. Ht. 93 cm. [1991.121.3 Liverpool Museum]
39. Travelling writing desk bearing maker's label *Kwong Man Shing*. L. 52.5 cm. W. 43 cm. early 19th century [1991.121.75 Liverpool Museum]
40. Trunk, L. 92 cm. W. 46.5 cm. Ht. 41.5 cm. early 19th century [1991.121.16 Liverpool Museum]
41. The Smeeton waistcoat. L. 49 cm. W. 40 cm. late 19th century [1993.43 Liverpool Museum]
42. Porcelain tea bowl and saucer, Chinese, overglaze enamel decoration of brown eared bulbuls c.1740 [on loan / Liverpool Museum]
43. Porcelain tea bowl and saucer with sentimental device (heart pierced by two arrows instead of a crest), Chinese, monogrammed Bowl Ht. 5 cm. Saucer W. 14 cm. c.1790 [56.27.939 Liverpool Museum]
44. Lacquer tea canister of black lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl (lac-burgauté), 37 x 28 cm. c.1825 [1991.121.78 Liverpool Museum]
45. Chinese razor, metal. L.15.5 cm. late 19th century [1872.42.11, Harper-Parker collection, Liverpool Museum]
46. Silk painting, 24 x 20 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [56.27.409 Liverpool Museum]
47. Sleeve borders 58.5 x 13 cm. 2nd half 19th century [Kinder collection, Liverpool Museum]
48. Uncut material 27 x 29.75 cm. 2nd half 19th century [54.145.82, Kinder collection, Liverpool Museum]
49. Fan, Mandarin, in original box, L. 30 cm. mid-19th century [40.47.1 Liverpool Museum]
50. Fan, Mandarin, pierced tortoiseshell sticks, L. 28 cm. c.1860 [53.76.32 Liverpool Museum]
51. Fan, ivory brisé with monogram JC on a shield, L. 19 cm. c.1800 [1991.121.81 Liverpool Museum]
52. European style cotton shirt, L. 58.5 cm. sleeves L. 63 cm. each 19th century [1991.121.129, Larrinaga collection, Liverpool Museum]
53. Rawson Tray (the private firm of Rawson & Co. was trading in Canton for 20 years after 1820, cf. silver coffee pot c. 1835 no.693 illustrated in

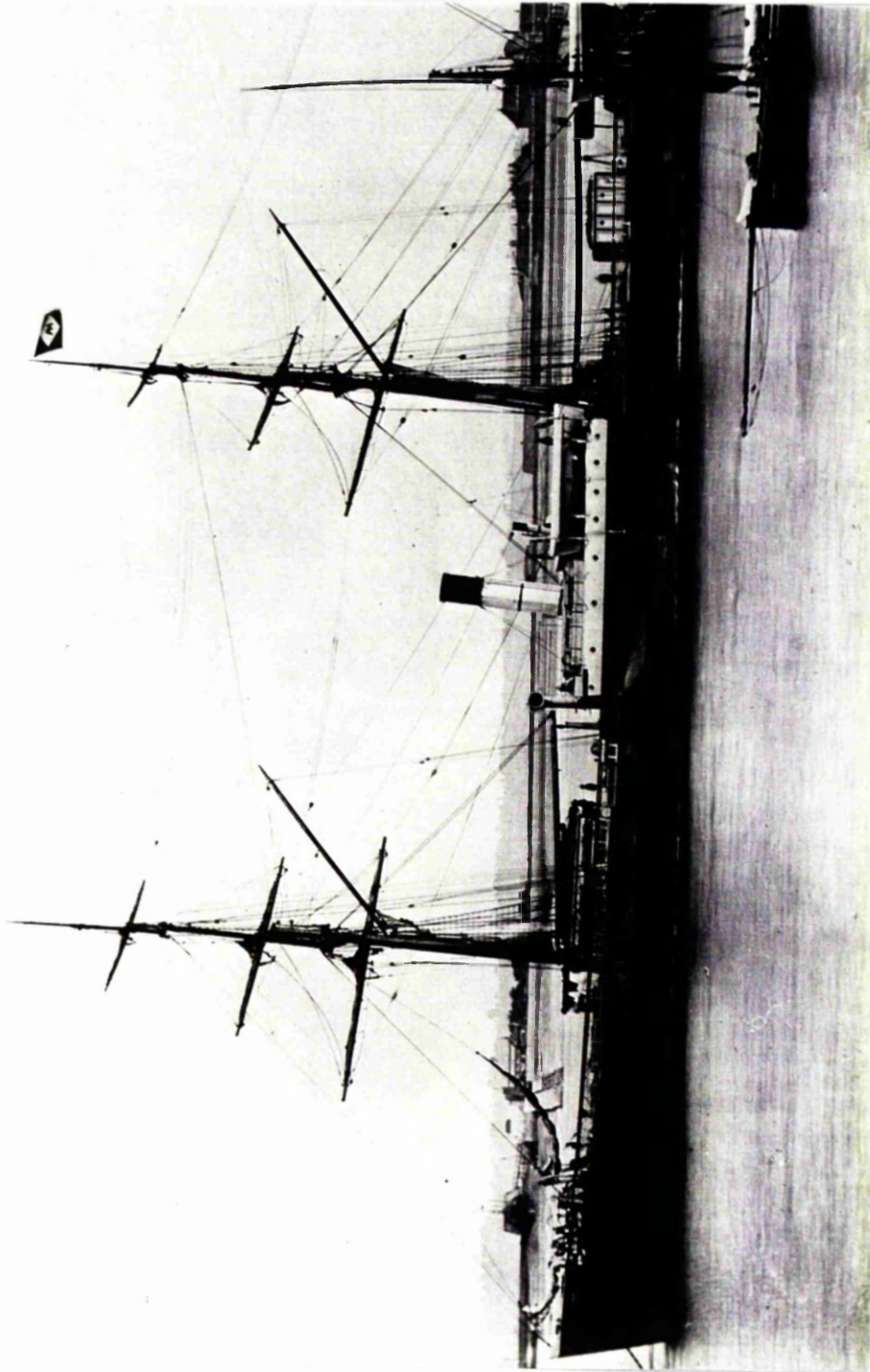
- Howard & Ayres *China for the West* (London, 1978)), silver, 56.5 x 43.5 cm. 1853 [1996.132 Liverpool Museum]
54. Silver condiment set in original box, 14 x 20 cm. 2nd half 19th century [1991.121.35 Liverpool Museum]
55. Demi-parure of hornbill ivory set in unmarked silver filigree in original black lacquer box. Label on back dated to 13th July 1883 with the label by Le Chin, Canton, L. 20.5 cm. [1991.121.58 Liverpool Museum]
56. Table wares, silver, mid-19th century, napkin ring, Dia. 5 cm. [1991.121.52 Liverpool Museum], sugar tongs, L.13 cm. [1991.121.56 Liverpool Museum], spoons, L.14.5 cm. [1991.121.37 Liverpool Museum], salt cellar, L. 7 cm. [1991.121.54 Liverpool Museum].
57. Neoclassical paktong candlestick, Ht. 30 cm. late 18th or early 19th century [1991.121.135 Liverpool Museum]
58. Silver tea pot with romanized mark K.W., L. 25.5 cm. late 19th century [1991.121.31 Liverpool Museum]
59. Steward's cup, 1843, Ht. 17 cm. [1991.121.144 Liverpool Museum]
60. Gaming box, lacquered, 38 x 31 cm. c.1810-25 [1991.121.70 Liverpool Museum]
61. Pith painting, gambling game "go", 24 x 20 cm. 2nd-3rd quarter 19th century [56.27.576 Liverpool Museum]
62. Cards, domino type, 11.2 x 3.4 cm. each 19th century [1981.876.13 Liverpool Museum]
63. Cards in box, 9 x 4.5 cm. 2nd half 19th century [42.50.13 Liverpool Museum]
64. Puzzle, ivory threaded with silk string (cf. whole games box no.248 Howard *A Tale of Three Cities* (London 1997)), W. 7 cm. c.1860 [1981.876 Liverpool Museum]
65. Puzzle, ivory, W. 8.5 cm. c.1860 [50.30.396 R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]
66. Concentric balls, carved ivory, Dia. 10 cm. L. 45.5 cm. max., mid to late 19th century [56.27.854]
67. Swinging man, bone toy, Ht. 7 cm. max., mid to late 19th century [50.30.393, R/Thomson collection, Liverpool Museum]
68. Swinging man, bone toy, W. 7.2 cm. Ht. 9 cm. max., mid to late 19th century [1981.876.115 Liverpool Museum]
69. Ceramic cockerel, Ht. 17 cm. c.1700-20 [M1402, Mayer collection Liverpool Museum]

70. Ceramic vase, underglaze blue Ht. 23.5 cm. c.1775 [M1789, Mayer collection Liverpool Museum]
71. Ceramic teabowl and saucer, pierced, overglaze, c.1760 Dia. 22.4 cm. [M1950, Mayer collection, Liverpool Museum]
72. Ceramic teapot, Yixing, Ht. 11 cm. late 18th century [M1991, Mayer collection, Liverpool Museum]
73. Ceramic teapot and stand, Yixing, Ht. 9.1 cm. 2nd quarter 18th century [M1993, Mayer collection Liverpool Museum]
74. Enamelled plate, depicting landscape scene, c.1735-40 Dia. 35 cm. [M5581 Liverpool Museum]
75. Parasol, blue silk and ivory, L. 83.5 cm. and malacca cane with silver mount L. 84.5 cm. 2nd half 19th century [1991.121.87 / 1991.121.48 Liverpool Museum]
76. Silver belt, dated 1880 and 1901, with monograms EH and MH, L. 74 cm. [1991.121.32, Holt collection, Liverpool Museum]





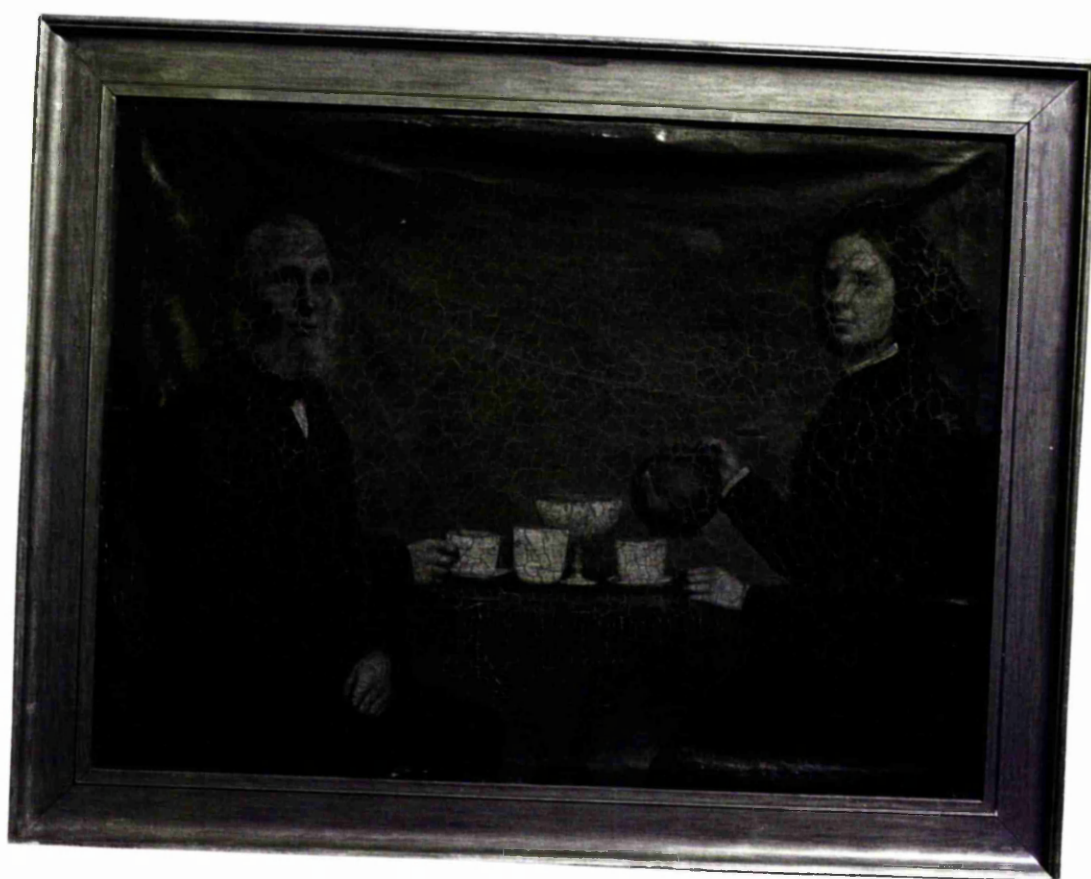










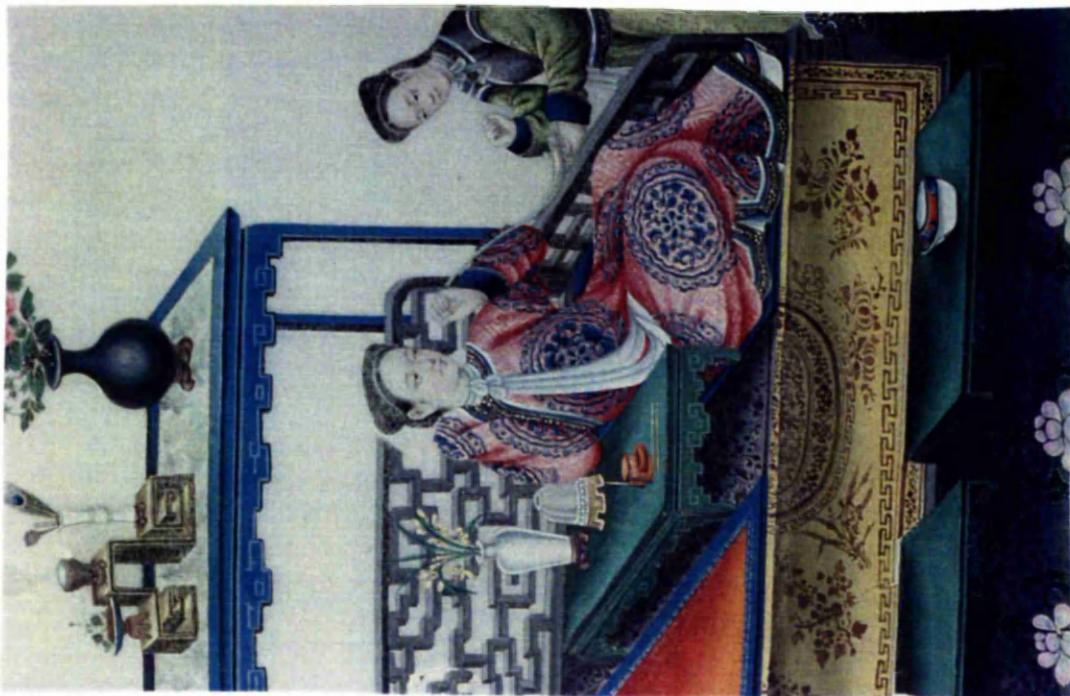
















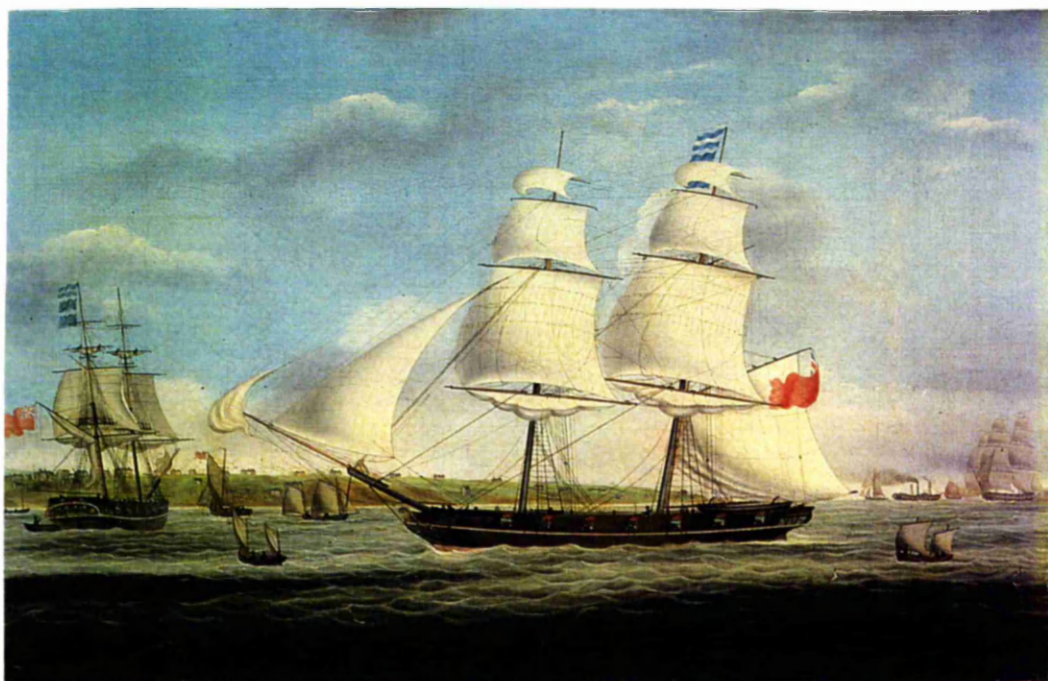


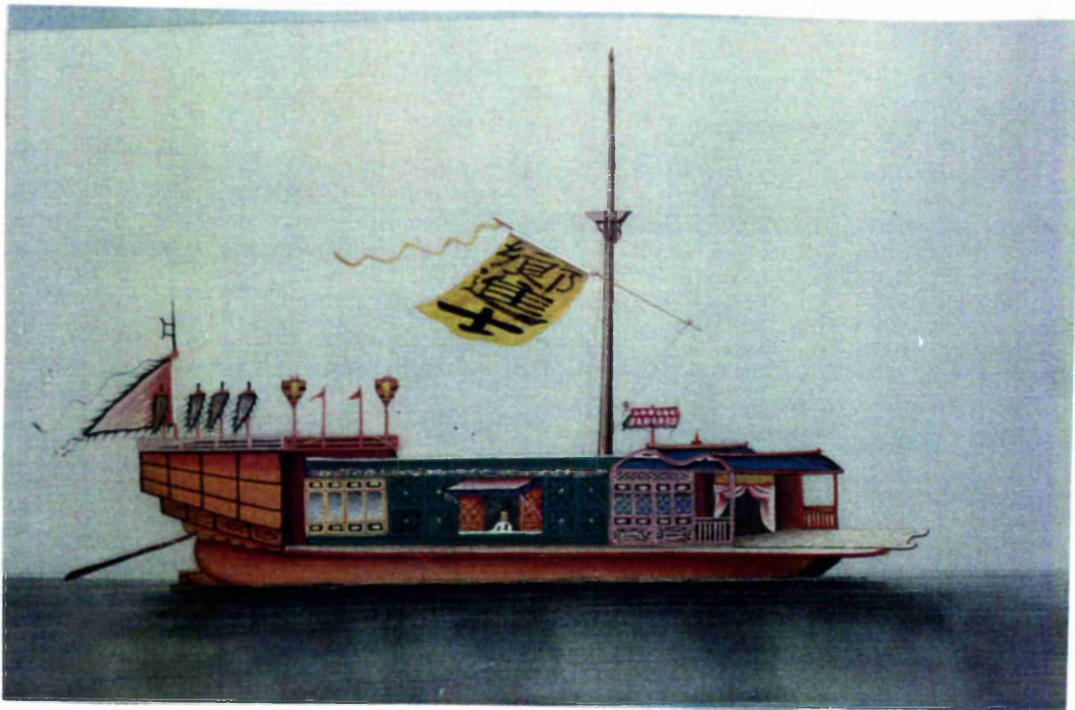
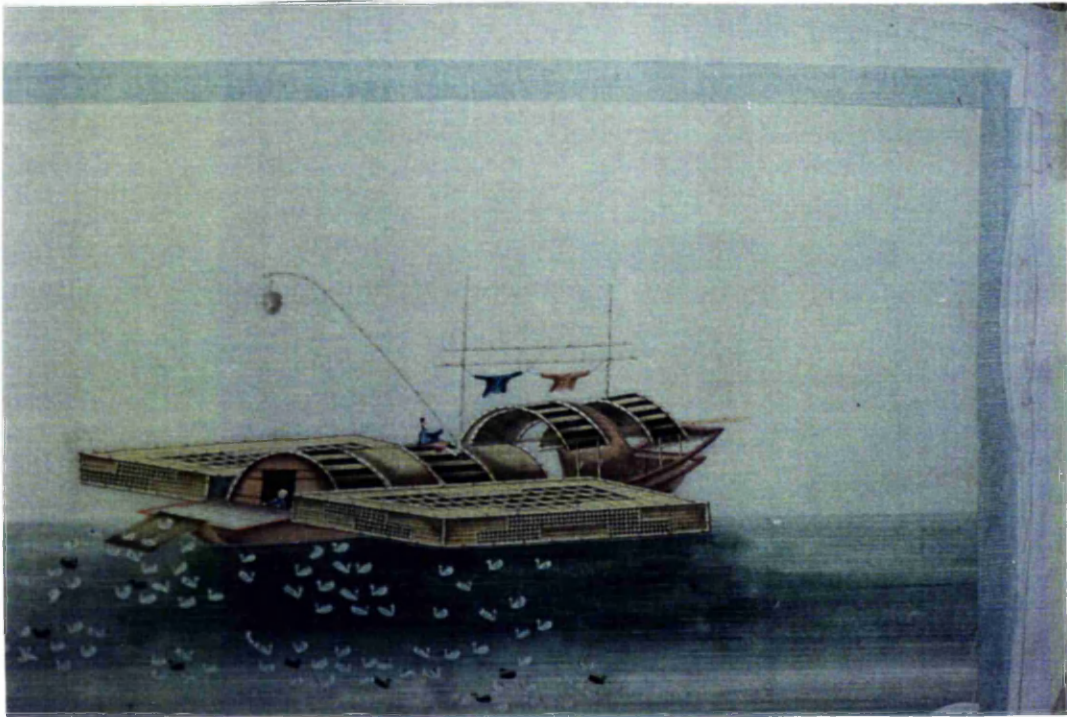




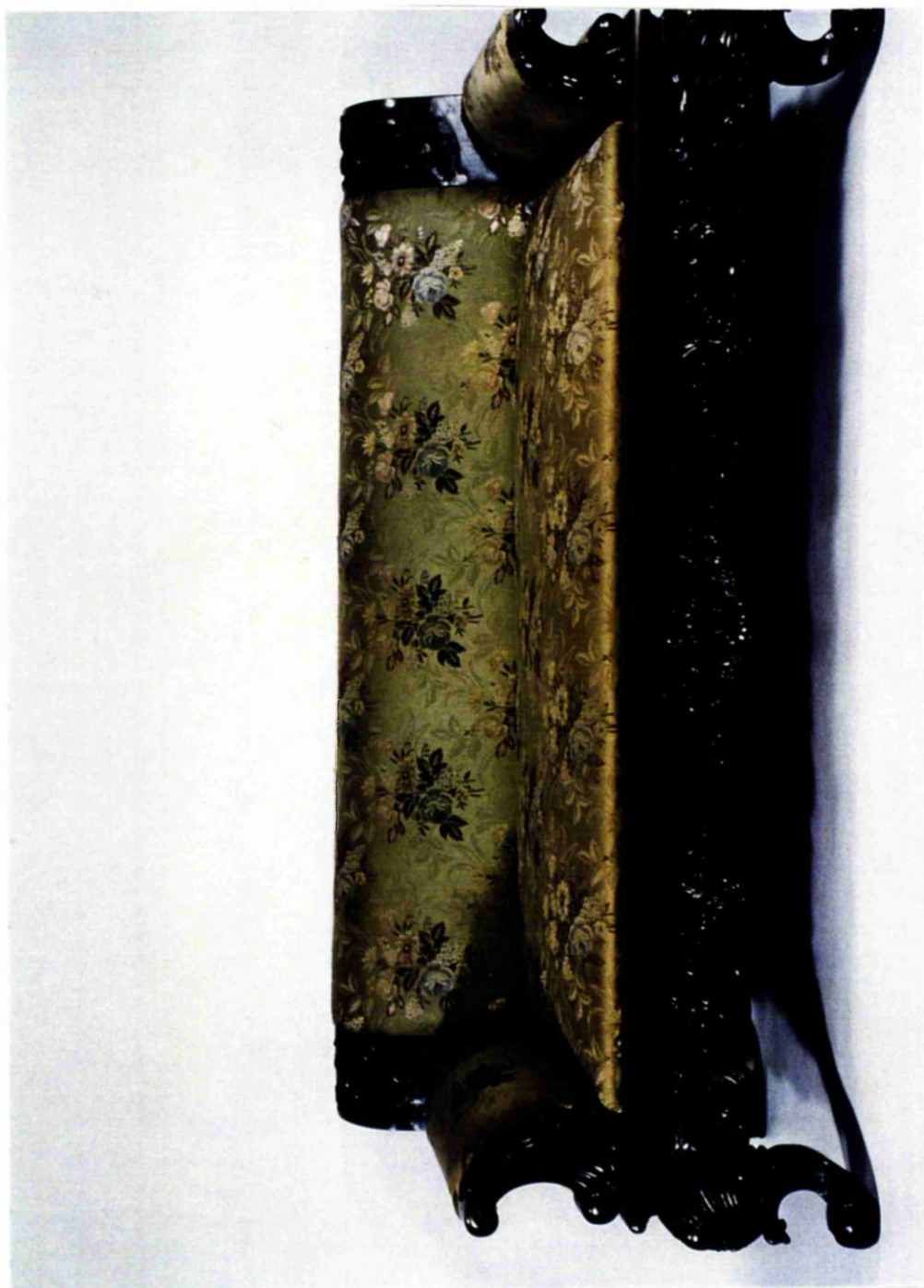




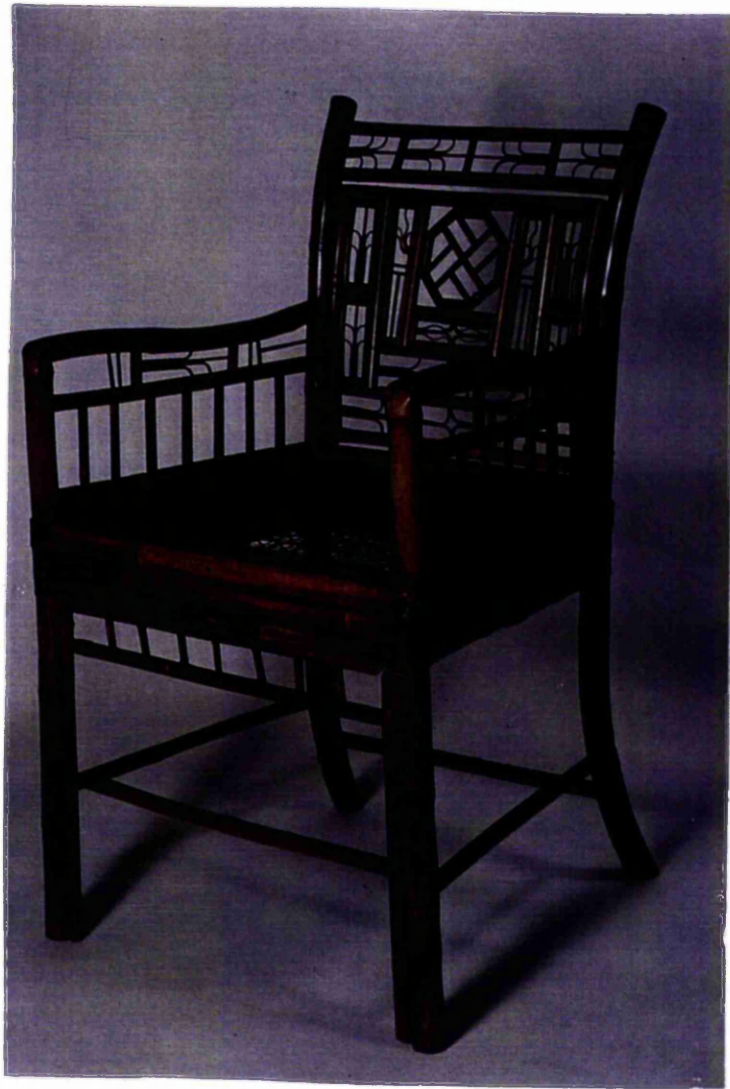










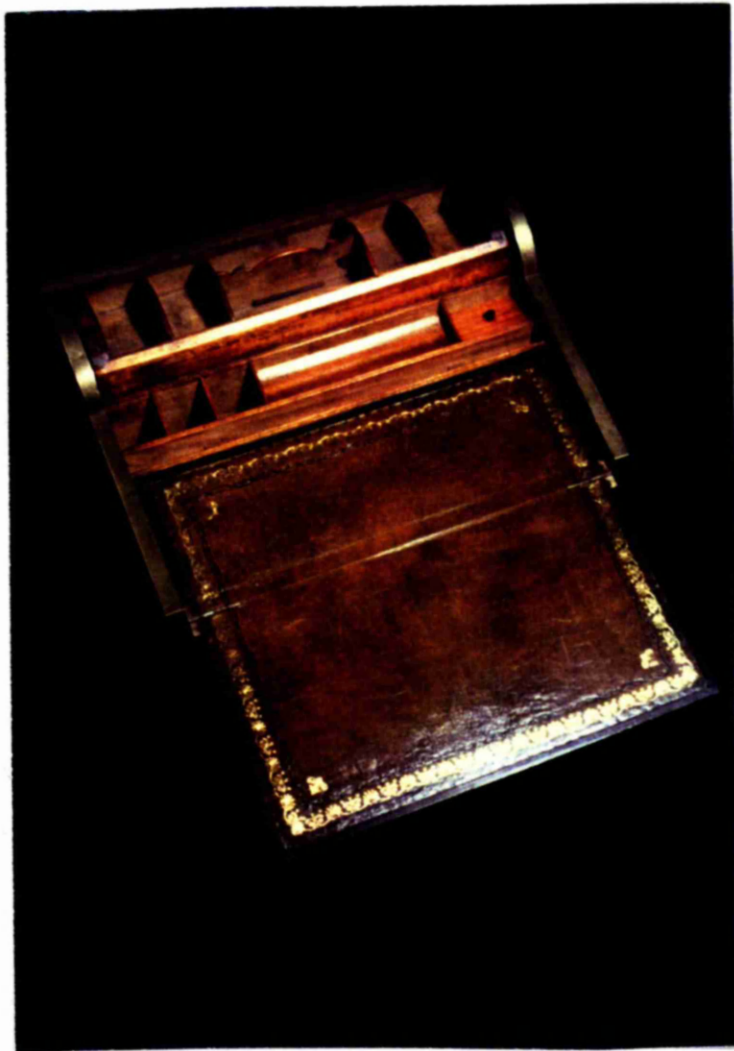








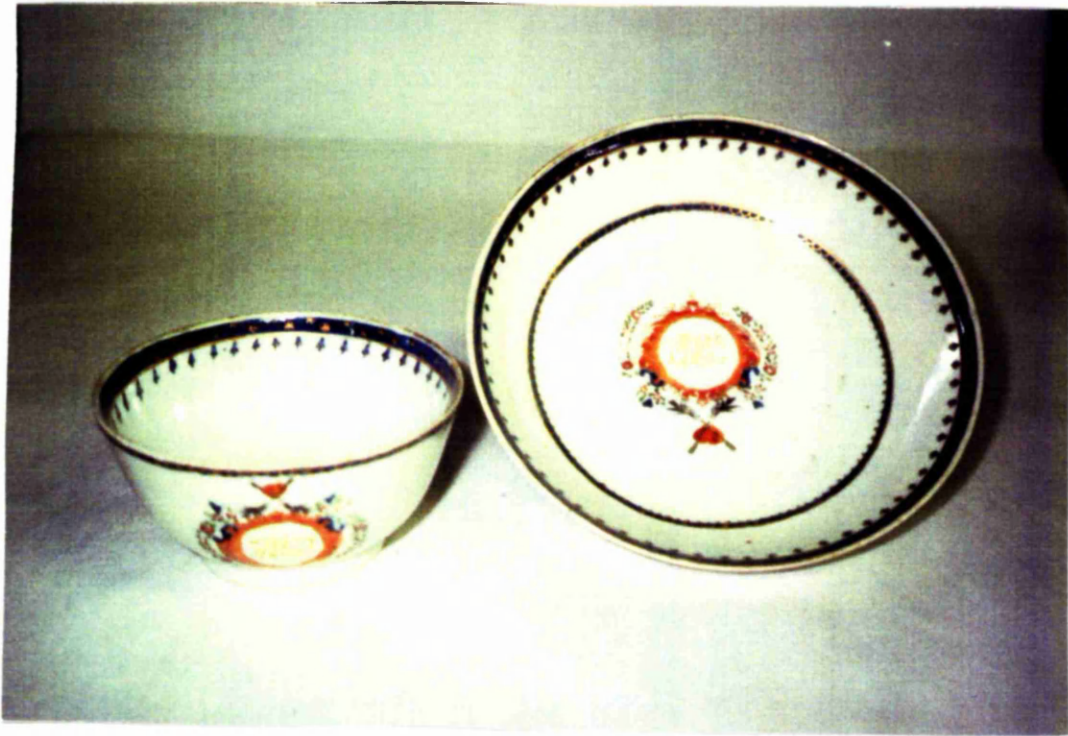








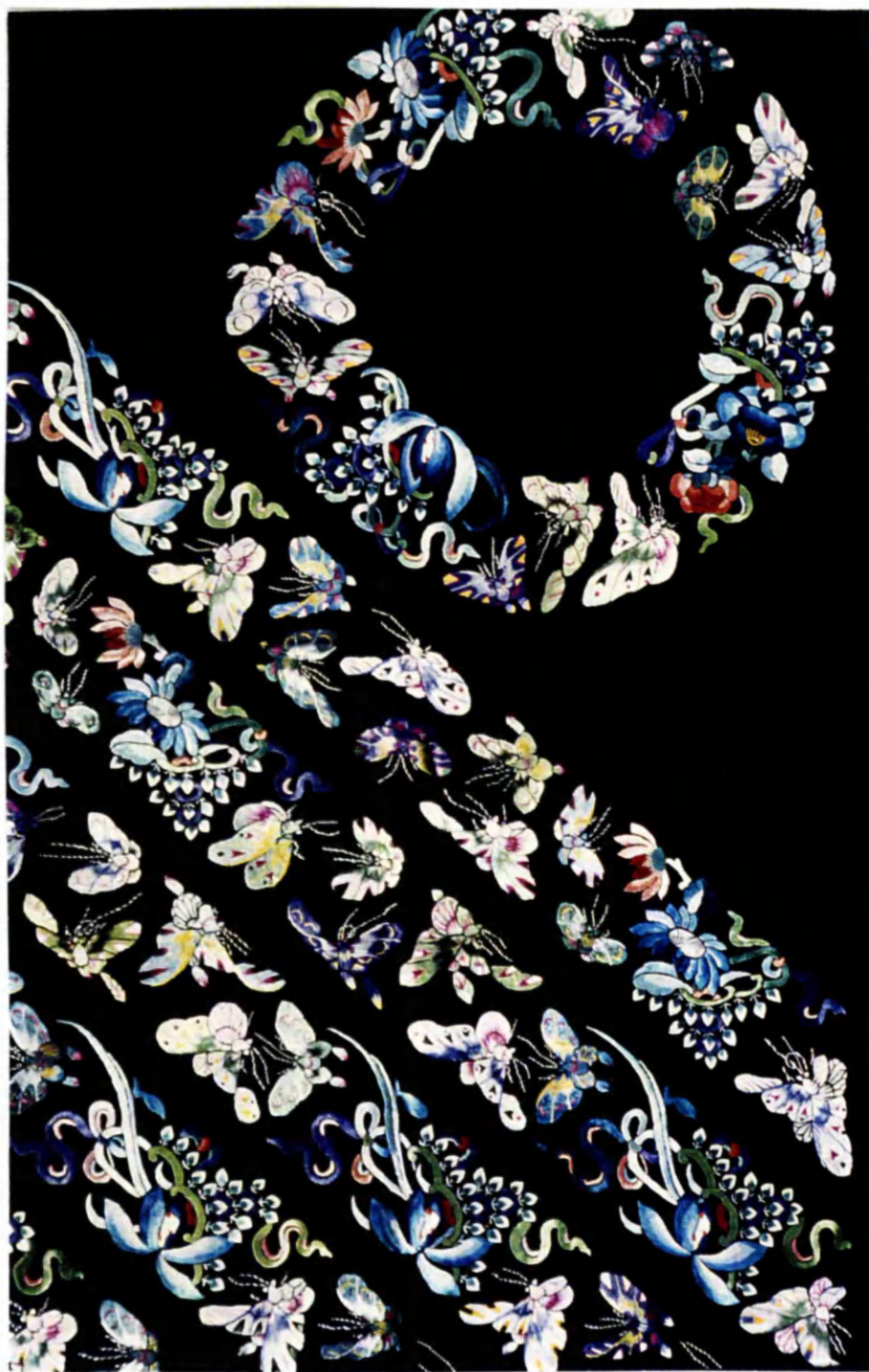


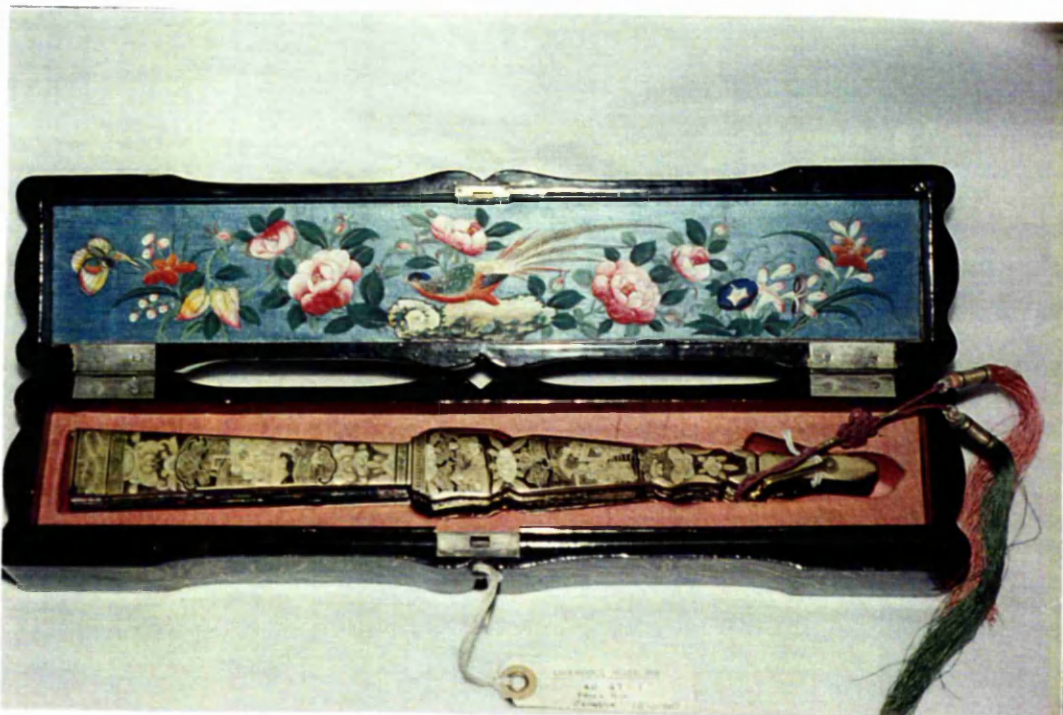


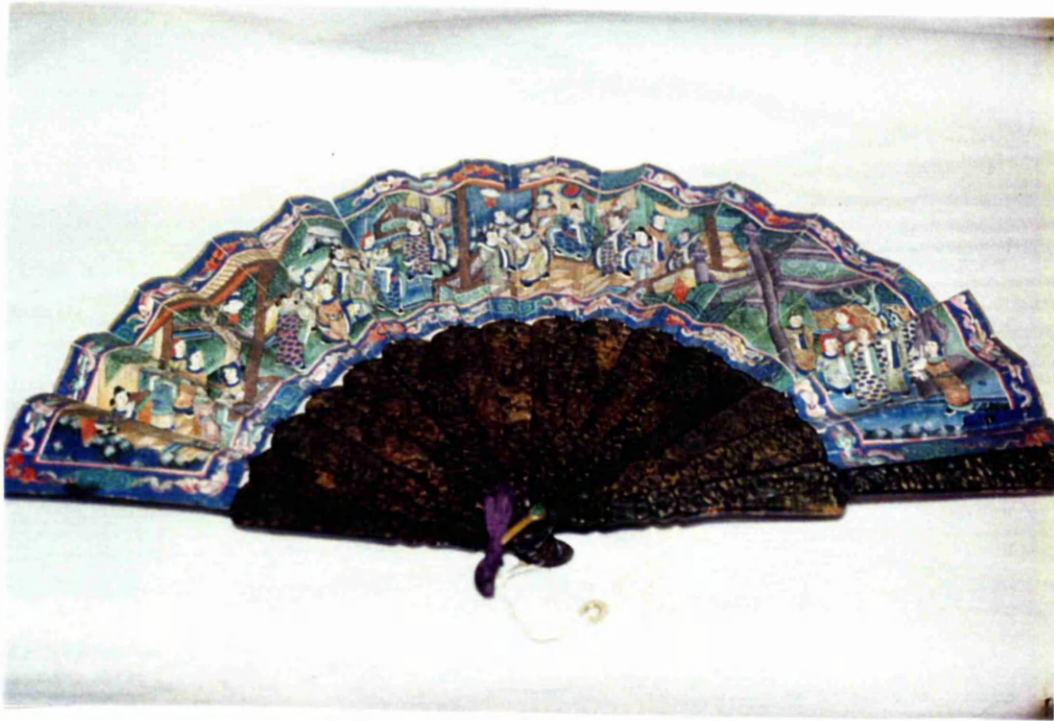










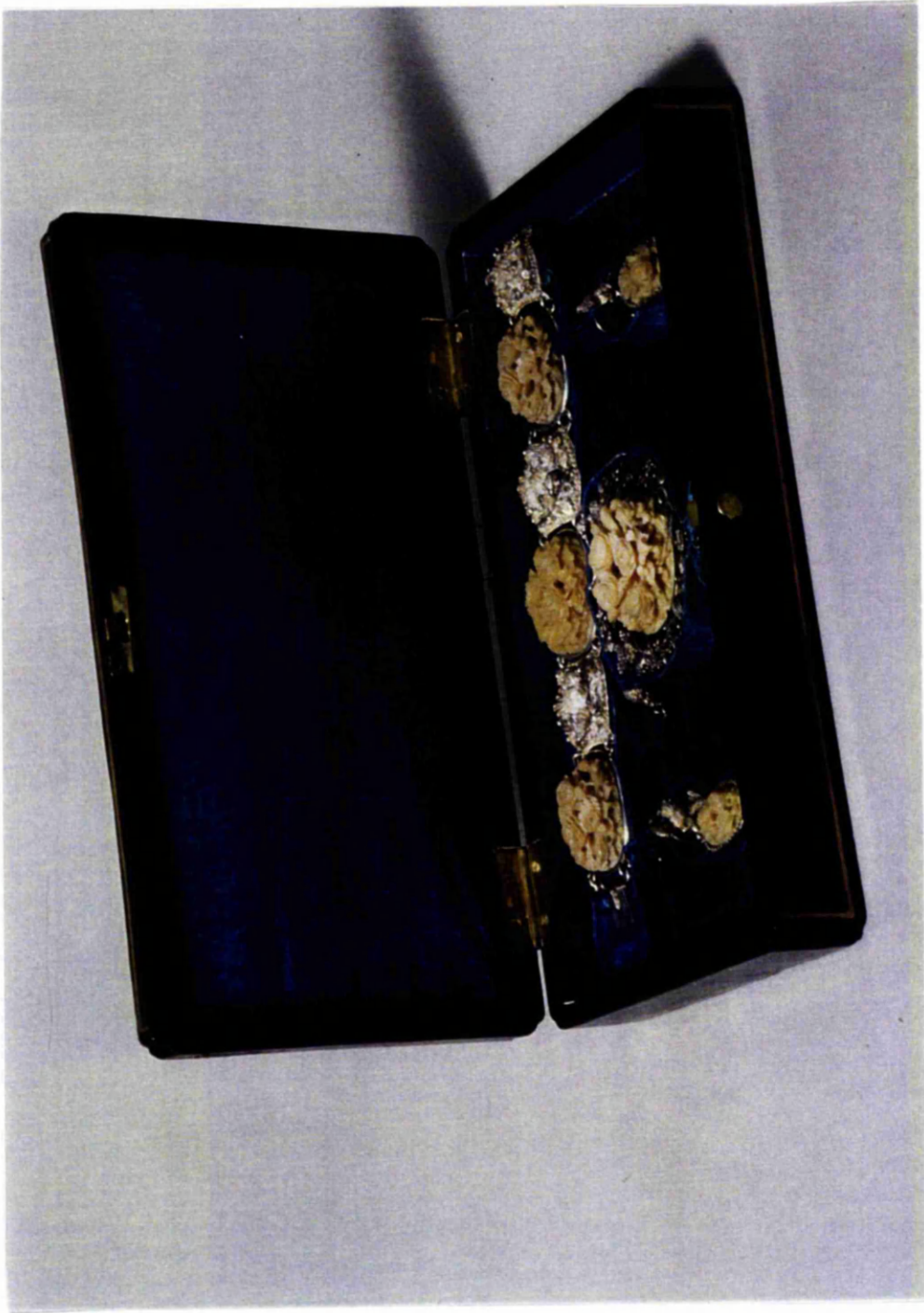




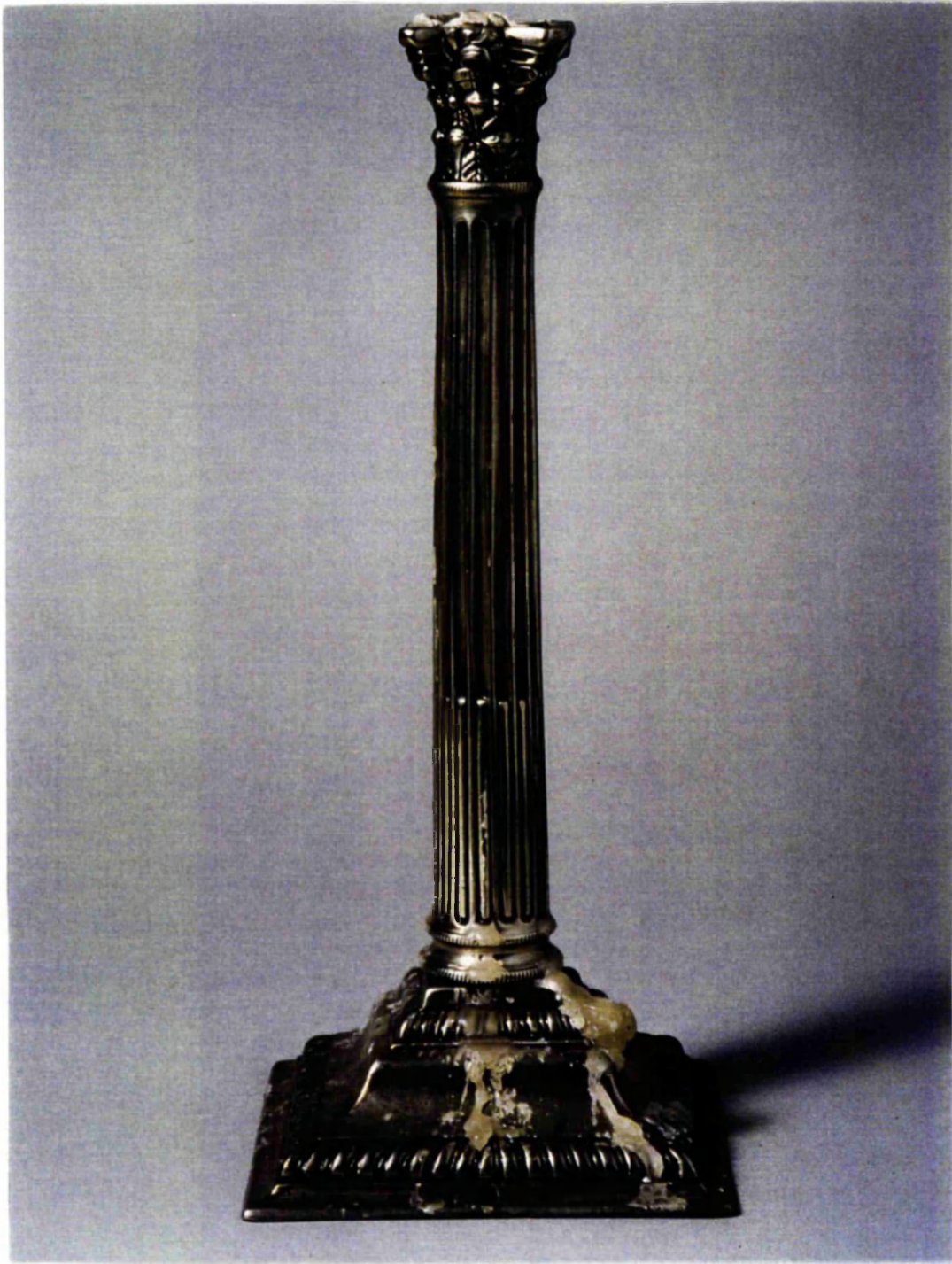




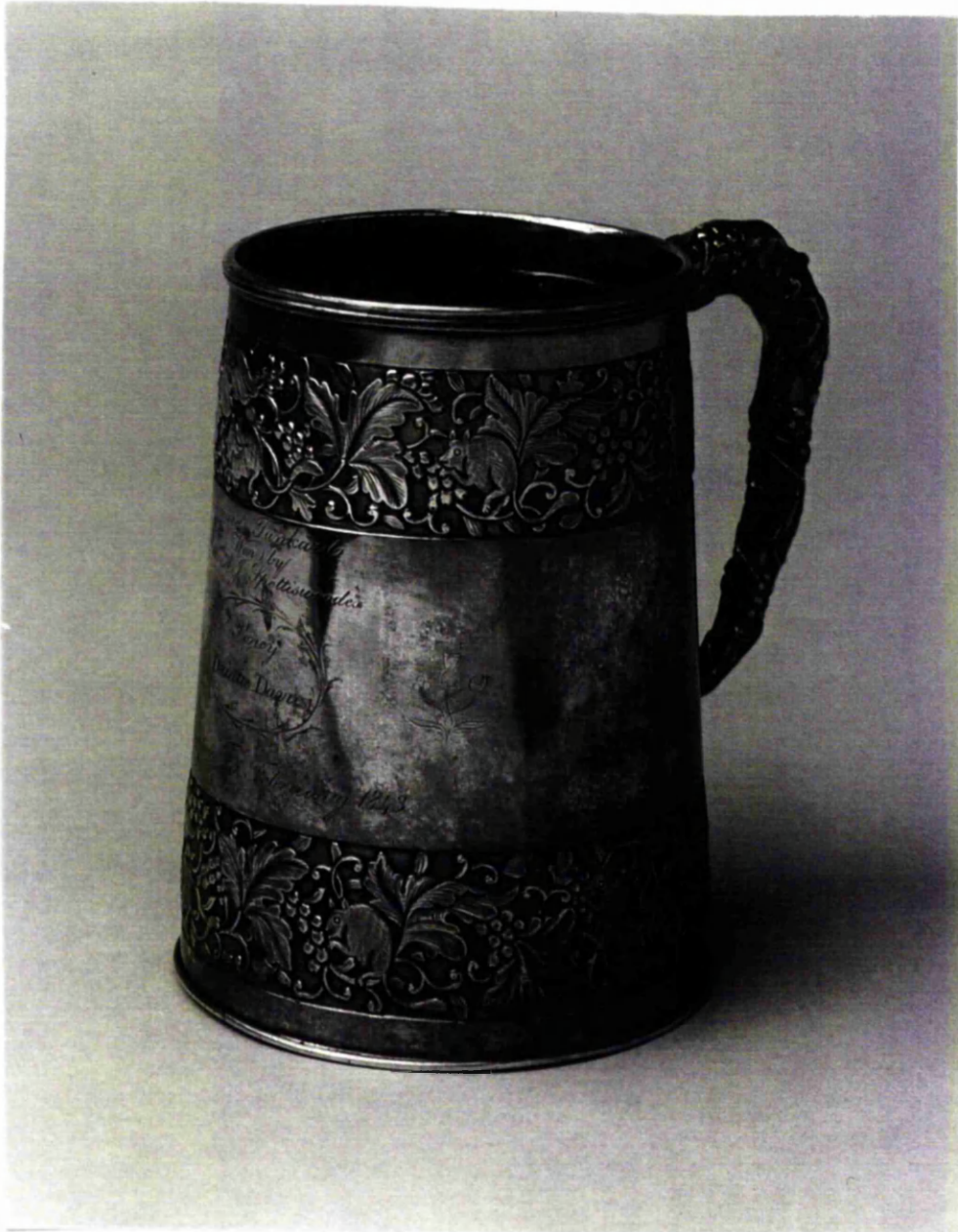






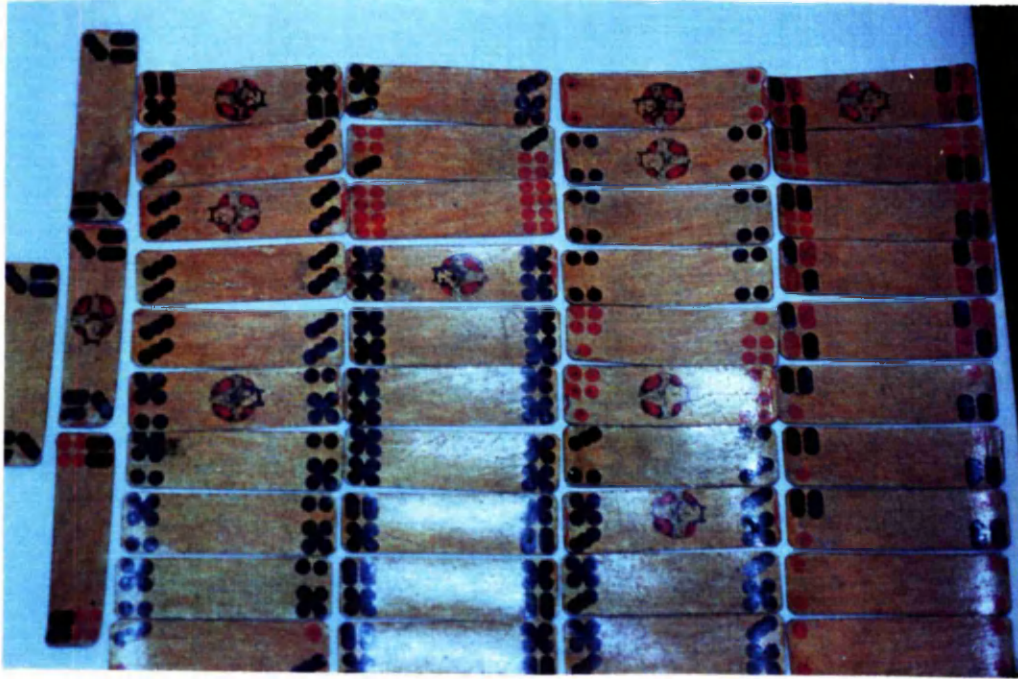




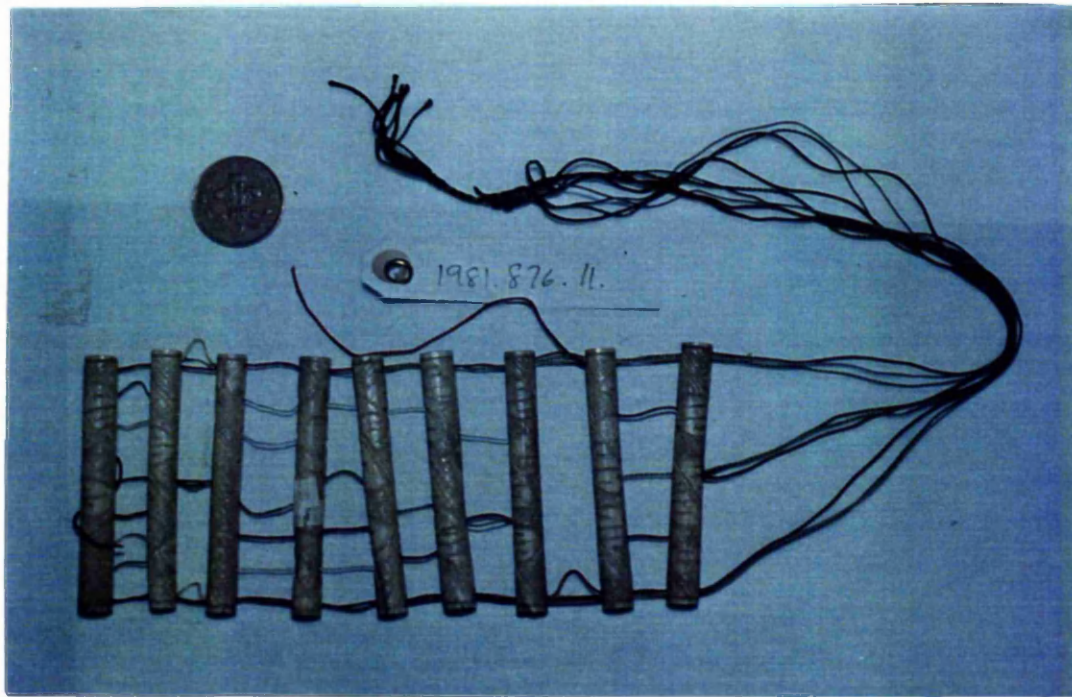




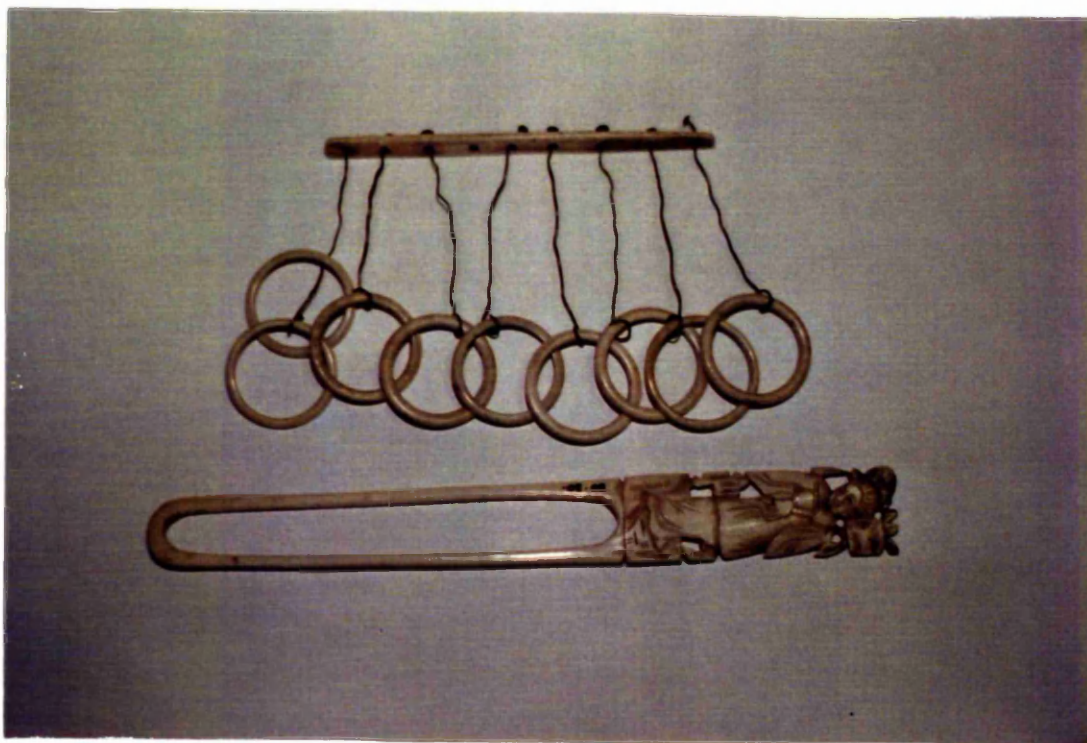




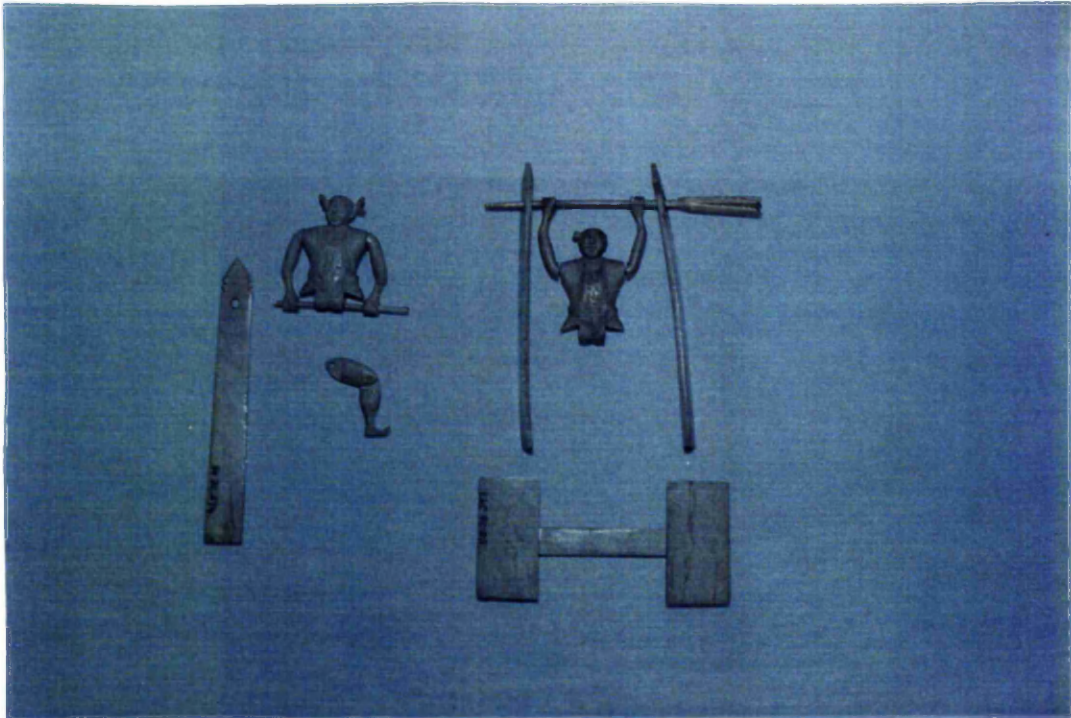
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